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Frederik Wilhelm by de Gratie Gods
Keurvorst van Brandenburg.

Elector Frederick William.

HISTORY

OF THE

GERMAN PEOPLE

FROM THE FIRST AUTHENTIC
ANNALS TO THE PRESENT TIME

With an Introduction by
WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD, Ph. D.
Professor of History, Columbia University

VOLUME NINE

MODERN GERMANY

The Rise of Prussia
Foundation of Prussian Power

Edited by
EDWARD S ELLIS, A.M.
and
AUGUSTUS R. KELLER

ILLUSTRATED

1916
The International Historical Society
Incorporated New York

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THE QUINN & BODEN CO. PRESS
RAHWAY, N. J.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Mr. Edward S. Ellis, in deciding to associate himself with me in the editorship of this series, declared that he hoped to make this the crowning work of his long life, that he wished to help his brother Americans to a broader understanding and sympathy for all other nations, by showing to them, through this series, what each nation thought of itself, in what traditions each was educated, and why each one was proud of its own past.

But Mr. Ellis was already a veteran in the everlasting war of knowledge against ignorance, light against darkness. He was over seventy years old, and death came to him suddenly during the summer of 1916, after a brief illness. So that here, at the beginning of our history of Modern Germany, we pause to take brief and reverent note of the passing of an earnest thinker and noble-hearted gentleman.

The editorship of Mr. Ellis extended in full over the preceding eight volumes. As announced in the preface to Volume I, their text is based upon the works of the most prominent and generally recognized authorities on medieval history. The works more particularly followed are those by

Professor Dr. Eduard Heyck (Ermatingen, Switzerland).

Professor Dr. Ludwig Geiger (Berlin).

Professor Dr. Friedrich von Bezold (Munich).

and as far as the history of the War of Thirty Years is concerned, the work of Germany's immortal poet-historian Friedrich von Schiller.

Mr. Ellis's work also extended in part over the first three volumes of Modern Germany. This is usually reckoned, as we have here accepted the phrase, as beginning with the rise of Prussia; because it is Prussia that has chiefly built up the Germany which we know to-day. For these three volumes the German authorities chiefly presented are the noted and patriotic writers:

Dr. H. V. Zwiedineck-Südenhorst,

Dr. Ernest Berner,

Privy Councilor Dr. Reinhold Koser, Director General of the Prussian State Archives (Berlin).

With Volume XII, Professor Charles F. Horne becomes associated with me, taking the place of Mr. Ellis. Professor Horne is well known as the author of a number of prominent works on history, and as the editor of many historical publications which have received marked approval both from the public and from scholars during the past twenty years. Our readers, therefore, may be assured that whatever labor he undertakes will be accomplished both thoroughly and attractively.

Augustus R. Keller,
Editor.

THE RISE OF PRUSSIA

FOUNDATION OF PRUSSIAN POWER

CHAPTER I

THE STATE OF FREDERICK THE GREAT. 1640-1713

The Great Elector. 1640-1688

AFTER Elector Frederick William had begun his reign the conditions in the country were fully as miserable as when his ancestor, Frederick I, for the first time entered the March. It cannot be said that Frederick William had obtained a state, or even a country and people. The populace had decreased most pitifully, and those that had been left were not only ruined financially, but had degenerated morally.

The Rhenish countries, as well as those that belonged to the March, were in the grasp of foreign troops, the possession of Prussia depended upon the investiture of Poland, and the acquisition of Pomerania or even Jägerndorf was altogether improbable. "Pomerania is gone, Jülich is gone to

Prussia, we cling like to the tail of an eel." The various classes in Prussia, the Rhinelands, and even in the Marches, were neither able nor inclined to fulfill their duties toward the lord of their country, nor to help him bring about peace, turn contempt into honor, obtain all possessions, and rejoice in living. One cannot understand the furtherance of a judicial system, because of the general confusion of conditions in the state, and the thorough depravity of moral attitudes. There were "in the empire only lamentations over injustice, corruption, and partiality of judges and officers."

Since all had lost the respect for human dignity, how could arise the desire for that firmly established commonwealth which is always innate in human nature? Gone was the power of moral ideas, as if they had been torn from the consciousness of mankind. Where could the true idea of state possibly arise? The facts that make possible the existence of such were destroyed; how, therefore, could one possibly think of his higher ego, of his moral self? Human nature can be just to itself and develop fully only in connection with a commonwealth, in the subordination to a whole, and in the fulfillment of duties toward all. In the state and in serving it, man learns his own value, and with his duties his importance expands and reaches that value. The more closely he connects himself with the service of the com-

munity, the broader grows his horizon, and with higher ideals he himself rises to greater heights.

If country and people were to be rescued from the physical and moral decline, a vast deal had to be created and a state brought into being whose loyal members could and would become conscious of themselves. The people had to be taught to belong to a community, to recognize duties toward the state, and to be supported by the latter. The sense of the duty of the individual had to be created anew, and the more seriously the leader took his obligation, the more promptly the individual member was obliged to acquire it. Only thus could moral health and moral dignity enter into the hearts of man; only thus was outward prosperity to be obtained.

So we must acknowledge a beneficent providence when Brandenburg obtained as its ruler a prince whose heart and mind urged him to fulfill his duties. Just as Frederick William had once turned his back upon his gay companions in Holland, a youth fully aware of what he owed to his honor and his country; just as he had obeyed the distasteful orders of his father, impelled by his sense of duty, and notwithstanding his aversion regarding Schwartzenberg's policy; and just as he had returned from Holland and gone to his father's court in Prussia, so throughout his reign "he would al-

ways remember that he represented not his affairs but those of the people."

This strong sense of duty, based upon a firm confidence in the Lord, encouraged the elector to stand inflexibly against foreign and internal enemies of his state, and lent him power to disregard such laws as were likely to impair the whole. Although he sometimes found it highly difficult, yet he always took care lest *summum jus* should become *summa injuria.*

Upon the inducement of the widow of the elector of Brandenburg, General George Ernest Wedell presented to the young elector in the first days of his reign a document which contained the principles of government that should guide him. We do not hear what Frederick William thought of them, but their pious tone and highly classical culture struck a familiar chord in him, and the policy they recommended corresponded wonderfully with his own views. Sparing of all subjects, believing it to be just and wise to confine himself to what it was possible to obtain, the advice never to go beyond the limits, the declaration that it was more advisable to yield than to stake all, not to act in accordance with the saying *aut Cæsar, aut nihil,* yet primarily to see to it that all fortresses were maintained and an army equipped: those were counsels which one might think were not FOR the reign of the elector, but the quintessence derived FROM it.

The captain of a ship, in order to make a successful voyage, must remain master of his crew, but he needs also the fair weather which enables him to preserve his bearings. Thus it was with the captain of the ship of state of Brandenburg.

The elector first of all had to assure himself of the power and strength of his country, but he must also have the favor of one or the other neighboring powers, in order to overcome difficulties more surely and to conquer hostilities and the hatred of the others, since he stood by himself, relying upon no one. Yet the more he extended his own powers, the stronger was the means through which he could meet foreign enemies. Furthermore, the more successful he was with his foreign policy, the more readily he could combat evils within his country and overcome the dependence upon the classes.

The most important step was to expel all foreign, hostile and supposedly allied forces from the Marches, and to secure for himself the possession of the countries. He was forced to enter into an agreement with Sweden according to which he was to obtain Pomerania, and he had to retain the friendship of the emperor, lest he should lose the Rhenish provinces or be injured by his superiority. Further, he must compel Poland to invest him with Prussia and at the same time maintain friendly relations with Sweden, although such a course might rouse Poland's suspicion.

Therefore, the elector spared Schwartzenberg and confirmed him as governor—thereby pleasing the emperor—and retained all previous commanders of the fortresses. On the other hand, he ordered the ambassador at Regensburg, where emperor and empire discussed with Sweden regarding Pomerania, to break off negotiations, since he intended to adjust matters with Sweden himself. Soon afterward, in accordance with the urgent requests of the classes, he ordered a reduction of the army, purposing to confine himself to a defensive policy with regard to the Swedes. He gave direct orders to the commanders of his fortresses, disregarding Schwartzenberg, and reëstablished the privy council by reinstalling the aged chancellor Götze, and others whom Schwartzenberg had dismissed.

The credit of the classes was gone, the debts contracted in all the provinces amounted to several millions, the most important revenue, that of Lenzen, was pawned to Denmark, and more than half of a million was owed to the emperor for unpaid taxes. Yet there was not sufficient money to maintain the house; often funds had to be borrowed from the magistrates of Berlin in order to live. Now the elector ordered an investigation concerning incomes and expenditures, and himself headed a committee appointed to investigate the government of the chamber, the military expeditions, and

the needs at the court. Thus he learned all about the great financial distress.

The first results of this independent action were to cause many a danger for the elector. The emperor forbade the reduction of the army, being unable to expel the Swedes from the March and not inclined to conquer Pomerania for Brandenburg in accordance with the Peace of Prague. On the contrary, all knew that that country was the price at which he would obtain peace from the Swedes. Count Schwartzenberg, astonished at the independent action of his master and filled with fear lest he should soon cease reigning, fell ill and died suddenly. But even his death did not benefit the elector, since he lost that fraction of confidence which the emperor had reposed in him, and the question as to Schwartzenberg's successor in his own country greatly roused the Lutherans. Finally, after he actually began to reduce his army, despite the command of the emperor, and ordered the rest of the army to take the oath of loyalty before him, and after he ordered an investigation into the enormous "graft" of which the officers were guilty, the soldiers openly opposed him and the colonels defiantly refused to take the prescribed oath.

Meanwhile, the elector succeeded in obtaining several regiments and fortresses, chiefly through the assistance of Konrad of Burgsdorf, the commander of Küstrin. Margrave Ernest, the son of

the margrave of Jägerndorf was made governor of the March, for the elector had to stay in Prussia to obtain the investiture from Poland. The latter permitted the elector to rule over Prussia (April 21, 1641). He then sent his former tutor, Reunelian Kalkum, called Leuchtmar, to Stockholm to negotiate for an armistice, and to discuss the marriage between the elector and the young queen Christine of Sweden. Since the imperial troops had fought successfully against the Swedes, who also feared a war with Denmark, Sweden was willing to conclude an armistice on the 14th of July, 1641, according to the terms of which the crossing of the March by the soldiers was to cease, the supplies for the troops were to be regulated, and the routes on land and sea were secured for free communication, while arbitrary taxes were abolished.

Some time later, after hot discussions in the Polish diet, it was brought about that Frederick William was invested "peacefully and quietly" by the king of Poland, on the 8th of October, 1641, at Warsaw. This was possible only after far-reaching concessions had been made to the crown and the classes; the cities still refused to pay taxes, but were finally induced to take the oath of loyalty; and the city of Königsberg could only at the request of the Polish king permit the burial of Elector George William. But the elector was now actual lord of Prussia, and assumed an intimate relation

with the Orders. By abolishing the peculiarly formed and illegally governed sea revenues he greatly furthered the commerce of Königsberg and Menel, and, in short, that of the whole country.

Thus part of the elector's aims had been accomplished, but he was far from obtaining all. He needed a large number of soldiers and must be prepared to meet the foreign enemy that continued to fight upon the soil of the March. Yet, despite all perils, the cities must pay their share, which amounted to approximately 100,000 thalers. Twelve and not sixteen armies were needed to protect the country. Still war continued, imperial troops advanced to the Oder and the Elbe, the king of Denmark equipped an army, and Torstenson undertook a bold expedition into Moravia and Silesia, threatening the imperial city itself. How could peace be brought about under such circumstances, the negotiations regarding which were to begin March 25, 1642, at Münster and Osnabrück? And even should they begin, what could Brandenburg expect from them? All knew that the emperor was willing to cede Pomerania to Sweden, that the latter country strongly claimed it and also the Old March, and that even Denmark was dreaming of a Lower Saxon kingdom. In the Rhinelands, the position of the Netherlands had become firm, and since the classes of Cleve agreed to pay the debts contracted by the General States, the

latter obtained a means of annoying Brandenburg for a long time. Thus it was a great success when a treaty was concluded with Sweden—that country being threatened by a Dano-Polish-Imperial alliance —in May, 1643, which freed the March from all Swedish soldiers. After it was learned that the elector was willing to accept Gustavus Adolphus's plan regarding a marriage, a change was created in the political conditions of Brandenburg which seemed to threaten Poland, the Netherlands, the emperor, Denmark, and even Spain. Such an alliance between Sweden and Brandenburg would have dominated the Baltic, opposed the Hapsburg power, and changed all the European conditions. Once more the eye of Europe was turned upon the ruler of that poor and valiantly destroyed country, which they already thought of dividing as plunder among themselves.

Frederick William desired nothing else except to stop the everlasting war and to conclude peace, in order once more to adjust the confused conditions in his own country and in the empire as well. Deep was the misery of the unhappy ones who prayed for an end to their misfortunes. The whole of Germany was exhausted, bleeding, devastated, and yearned for rest.

The emperor would make peace only with Sweden and was willing to cede German territory, not in order to give peace to Germany, but to ob-

tain the imperial powers in behalf of Spain against France, and in Spanish-Austrian interests.

In the North, also, hopes for peace declined, since a new war broke out between Sweden and Denmark on account of the "Sound Taxes," which was prosecuted on German soil. Meanwhile hostilities ended with a Swedish victory, and Torstenson was again able to proceed against the emperor after the Peace of Bromselbrö (summer of 1645). He defeated an imperial army near Jenko in Bohemia, and once more invaded Moravia. At the same time, Prince Ragoczy of Transylvania threatened the emperor, the French and Dutch attacked the Spanish Netherlands, and in the region near the upper Rhine, Turenne captured one city after the other: Mannheim, Worms, Lorsch, and even Mainz. Thus, the Austrian provinces and the Austro-Spanish domestic interest being attacked, Germany might hope that her emperor would also be willing to make peace. Count Trautmannsdorf, the most intimate counselor of the sovereign, was dispatched to the congress at Münster and Osnabrück. Both Sweden and France regarded it as far better, on account of the different view points and the rivalry with which both powers strove to rule Germany, to negotiate with the latter at two different places. Münster was chosen as the place for the exchange of views with the French, Osnabrück for the same purpose with the Swedes.

How remarkable was the position of Brandenburg, at that congress!

The emperor's policy had destroyed the entire order upon which the German empire had been based; especially since the days of Charles V the empire had become for the emperor a mere factor of the Austro-Spanish domestic policy which was carried on by Jesuits. No longer did he represent the empire and its needs, but it must defend the interests of the House of Hapsburg. Those interests lay chiefly in Spain, Italy, Hungary, and least of all in Germany, where the emperor sought to obtain honor and fame by violating the imperial constitution, while he and his court, where Italian and Latin were being spoken, were thoroughly non-German.

This example naturally influenced the German princes; every alliance among various territories was gone, individual princes and the emperor himself were in the utmost financial distress, and acted only in accord with their own personal interests. Among the most dreadful results of the terrible war was the disappearance of a national union. If now and then there was found a patriotic German thought, the dim hope for a German policy of the empire, or the intention to preserve its interests, it rarely or never clung to the leader of the empire. Such an intention was contrary to the will and the desire of the ruler, especially since it dealt with the

rights of Protestantism and the freedom of the gospel. Only in accordance with this did the elector regard himself as owing respect "to the empire and then to the emperor," and as being "solely and only in accordance with the needs of the empire." Naturally he joined the Fruit Bearing Society, whose noblest motto was "to exercise German virtue and German tongue." Thus he demanded the annulment of the Edict of Restitution of 1629, the abolishment of the Treaty of Prague, the acceptance of the reformers into the religious peace, and that all German princes should take part in the negotiations concerning peace, which was contrary to the plan of the emperor to make peace alone or perhaps with the understanding of the electors.

The elector demanded for himself the whole of Pomerania, which would benefit all of Germany and was of great importance to non-German states as well. Of course the dynastic rights of the elector were fully justified, doubted by none, and the Pomeranian classes strongly protested against their annexation to another state than the electorate of Brandenburg, on the ground "that they had taken an oath of allegiance before the elector and could not be kept and sold like silly cattle."

It was infinitely important for the electorate to secure the coast lands and the mouth of the Oder.

But if the Swedes obtained Pomerania, besides Bremen and Verdun, not only Brandenburg but Germany would lose all influence upon the Baltic policy and commerce on the Oder, while Elbe and Weser would be brought to an end. Possessing the mouths of the Oder, Elbe, and Weser, Sweden would rule the North German plain politically and would also deprive Germany of its most important harbors. The French could not grant such a dominating position to Sweden, nor could the Danes or the Poles sanction it; the Netherlands, too, would not permit the Swedes to injure their commerce with the Baltic provinces,—Prussia being of especial importance, since they imported wood for their ships from that country.

Upon the vast value of Pomerania for the non-German countries depended success, and from this view point must be judged the wearisome negotiations at Münster and Osnabrück over Pomerania. In 1646, even the elector seemed to take up arms against the defiant Swedes, who laughingly rejected all his concessions. He gave up his plan to marry Queen Christine, and to the amazement of the Swedes took for his wife the oldest daughter of Prince Frederick Henry of Orange, Princess Luise Henriette—a union which was in accord with the elector's views concerning the interests common to both Brandenburg and Holland, as well as with his love for the latter country. While the marriage

proved a happy one, it brought no political advantages, for although the non-German cities did not like to see Pomerania controlled by Sweden they had no wish to strengthen Brandenburg, and the emperor was against Brandenburg despite the promises he had made. He would have preferred to satisfy Sweden at somebody else's expense, and weaken Brandenburg at the same time. The elector had to face a bitter alternative: either see that peace was made without the consent of Brandenburg and lose all of Pomerania, or cede to Sweden a part of the latter and obtain an indemnity for the cession of Upper Pomerania.

Painful as was the sacrifice, there was no escaping it. On February 7, 1647, despite the interference of the imperial envoys, a settlement was made between Sweden and Brandenburg, through the French plenipotentiary d'Avaux. But a year and a half passed before the emperor was willing to make peace. In the midst of those new entanglements the elector attempted to form "a third party," which could compel both belligerent parties to agree to peace. In this, however, he did not succeed, but despite the strongest protests of the electorate of Saxony, he secured the reception of the reformed as Protestants into the peace. Since the French had advanced to the Inn, the Swedes conquered a part of the city of Prague, and as Vienna itself was surrounded by two enemies, the

emperor was compelled to set aside the Spanish interests and on October 24, 1648, he came to terms.

It was that kind of peace which holds no end of seed for new conflicts. Freedom of religion was acknowledged and the Edict of Restitution abolished, yet who could not recall that one need not be faithful to heretics? The lordship of every German prince was acknowledged, yet the German empire was doomed to political impotence, and the degenerated imperial constitution was submitted to the guarantee of the foreign powers of Sweden and France.

Austria, which had freed herself from any influence of the empire and liberated her hereditary provinces from the imperial constitution, rendered the empire powerless by means of hereditary imperial authority; France, who "had opened the door of the empire," through Alsace, controlled the princes on the Rhine in Suabia and Franconia, and Sweden actually obtained the mouths of the Oder, Elbe, and Weser, and thereby the lordship over the North. It was only natural that those three powers would always vie with each other in behalf of the hegemony in Germany, and no one supposed they would permit any of the German principalities so to concentrate its strength that it would be able to resist and defend the national interests of Germany against them. The only hope was that, out of the

rivalry of the three powers, a combination would form itself which might render it possible to regain German lands and rights.

The electorate of Brandenburg had actually obtained Lower Pomerania and the bishoprics of Minden, Karwin, Halberstadt, and Magdeburg. Still, aside from the fact that these possessions were not equivalent to Upper Pomerania, the possession of Magdeburg and of Halberstadt, as well, was removed to an indefinite future, since they were to be occupied after the death of the Saxon ruler. The regulation of the frontier of Swedish-Pomerania was to be discussed later on, and thus Sweden was given occasion to undertake expeditions against Brandenburg. Furthermore, Brandenburg was almost entirely excluded from the sea, since the coast of Lower Pomerania with the small harbor of Colberg, to which the elector sought to add a new one at Leba, was not favorable for maritime development. Through the possession of Upper Pomerania, Verdun, and Bremen, Sweden had become for Brandenburg the rock which rendered futile every effort against it. The existence of Brandenburg depended upon the expulsion of that alien government from German soil which had strangled the economical life of the whole of Germany.

Brandenburg possessed the best claims upon Upper Pomerania, the imperial policy having taken it away and roused jealousy within many other

cities through the bishoprics mentioned. The rights of Brandenburg in the Rhenish provinces were not recognized, but the confused conditions continued and the claims of Pals-Newburg formed the tinder which needed only the spark to renew the conflict that must become a general conflagration. For there was war going on between Spain and France, and if the emperor assisted Spain, he must drag the whole empire into the conflict.

As hostilities between Poland and Sweden were imminent, was not Brandenburg between hammer and anvil? If we add the torn and separated condition of the Brandenburg lands hitherto united under one lord; the haughty position of the classes which were aided by Poland, the Rhenish provinces, the General States; and finally the poverty, the misery, and the degradation of the provinces, we see the stupendous task of making out of these countries and various rights, *"membra unius capitis,"*—members of one head, one state.

Undismayed, Elector William undertook that enterprise, or rather continued with fresh courage the gigantic work. He had to understand how to overcome the indignation, inactivity, and sullenness from within, and the jealousy and enmity of the powers, and how to preserve peace despite all enemies. Never had a prince been in such dire distress, neither Solomon nor David had found it

so difficult to know what he should do, and with David he prayed, "Lord, show unto me the path which I can go."

FROM THE WESTPHALIAN PEACE TILL THE PEACE OF OLIVA. 1640-1660.

Frederick William had not obtained that for which he had striven. Regarding the *bonum publicum,* the common weal of his Fatherland, he had given up many of his rights, disregarded his private interests, and striven only for peace and the welfare of his country and its people.

Yet we must not forget how much it was that the elector had secured. Even the melancholy mood into which he had fallen because of his rights having been rendered futile threw favorable light upon the condition in Brandenburg after that peace, compared with the time when the elector obtained the throne. In 1640, the destruction of Brandenburg seemed inevitable, friend and foe ruled and harried the country intolerably, and both had already thought of dividing it among the belligerent powers, and of expelling the elector from the throne of his forefathers. Now the elector had taken possession of his hereditary lands and obtained a position which commanded all to respect him. In addition to the lands of his ancestors he obtained claims upon one-half of the Pomeranian inheritance

and upon the bishoprics in Middle Germany. Not only within the country, but at foreign courts it was felt that an energetic and bold will was ruling at Berlin. The feared Frederick William, as a prince, "was the greatest and most considerable lord in the empire next to the emperor, having the ambition to render himself still greater." It was the more remarkable, since it was known that the elector demanded only what he thought just, and the interests of the powers required that such rights should be rejected.

First of all, he had to strive to obtain fully those privileges that had been granted him at the Westphalian Peace, since the signing of the peace documents did not make him the actual possessor of the new territories. Sweden's evacuation of Lower Pomerania, the bishoprics, and the regulation of the frontier, were brought about with considerable difficulty. It was necessary to ask the emperor to carry out the decisions of the peace tractate and the regulations of German affairs, the question regarding the Rhinelands which had been pending since 1609 had to be settled; the claims upon the inheritance of the margrave of Jägerndorf, who was excommunicated in 1621, had to be maintained; the influence of Poland upon Prussia and of the Netherlands upon Cleves must cease; and in addition to all these questions regarding foreign policy, there came the real task, the revival of the

country itself, the restoration of its prosperity, its physical and moral recovery.

He began by trying to pay indemnity to Sweden, which amounted to some 800,000 thalers, and he could boast of being the first one who fully paid. Still this did not bring about a conclusion with Sweden. As late as December, 1649, they evacuated Minden and Halberstadt, and in Pomerania raised new claims upon territory clear to the Oder, and upon the harbor revenues of Lower Pomerania, which had been ceded to Brandenburg.

Years passed before the frontier was finally regulated. Yet was it possible for Poland or the General States to consent that Sweden should keep on spreading more boldly, and that she should make the Baltic,—"the mother of all commerce,"—a Swedish continental sea? Poland, under the lazy king John Kasimir, much weakened because of inner feuds and the advances of Russia, could not check her (Sweden). The elector reckoned with the Netherlands, as he always regarded the interests of that country as his own. At that time the Dutch would have been glad to accept any help, indifferent as to whence it would come, for the Spaniards advanced successfully against the French in Belgium, and the palsgrave of Newbury made use of the general combination which gave fresh hopes to the Spanish-Catholic character, in order to free himself from the provisional treaty into which

the elector had compelled him to enter (1647), and according to which he had to spare his Protestant subjects.

Contrary to the decisions of that treaty, the palsgrave would not recognize the year 1612 as the normal year regarding religious conditions, but the year 1624, as the Westphalian Treaty had demanded, and with respect to his territories Jülich and Berg. He disgracefully oppressed and enslaved the 62,000 Protestants there, and waited only for the elector's departure to Prussia, while Frederick William demanded that the emperor should occupy the Brandenburg possession near the Rhine.

The elector decided to undertake an expedition against the palsgrave, and entered the duchy of Berg with a small army in the month of June. The palsgrave sought to enter into an agreement with Münster and Osnabrück, Cologne and Trier, and summoned the troops of the exiled duke of Lorraine. The Spaniards who, after Mazarin's overthrow in the peace with France, and with the favorable understanding of Cromwell, the protector of England, could invade the empire at any moment, aided the palsgrave, while in the rear of the elector there was the king of Poland, a brother-in-law of the palsgrave, and even the pope was willing to aid the latter financially.

Here on the western frontier war seemed to renew itself, and the two Rhenish and the West-

phalian districts mobilized their forces. Yet in Holland the anti-Orange party had gained full power after the death of Prince Henry Frederick of Orange and strove to make peace at any cost, since war had caused the great popularity of the Oranges; and they disregarded the perils threatening their country because of the successes of the Spanish.

Three times the elector went to The Hague, while his soldiers had already crossed the Rhine. But it came to naught. The General States wished to mediate with the palsgrave, but the latter refused. Personal meetings between the elector and the palsgrave were likewise of no avail. The emperor, led by wholly different motives and forced to sympathize with the elector, spoke favorably to the latter's envoy, von Blumenthal, but even Blumenthal who urged an alliance with the emperor feared lest the latter should yield to the Catholics. Despite minor skirmishes with the palsgrave, the elector was willing to settle the matter peaceably, and since neither Sweden nor the General States were expected to interfere, the elector yielded to the mediation of the imperial commissions, which included two representatives of Brandenburg and two of the palsgrave. In accord with that treaty former conditions were reëstablished.

The elector had by no means obtained what he had striven for; he did not succeed even in pro-

tecting the Protestants in Jülich, and everywhere within and without the empire all complained of Brandenburg as the violator who had dared to undermine a peace obtained so dearly. Sweden especially would cede Prussia to Poland and occupy Livonia, and threatened Brandenburg by entering into a treaty with Brunswick and Hesse-Cassel. Worse than all was the fact that the queen, who was inclined toward Catholicism, sought to come in closer contact with the emperor and Spain.

Thus the war was stopped in its early stage. The dignity and honor of Brandenburg had been maintained despite all troubles regarding foreign affairs, and one could doubt whether the inner danger was not the more serious one. From the beginning of his reign, Frederick William believed that only and solely upon peace did internal prosperity depend. With all the zeal of his soul, inspired by his sense of duty, he furthered agriculture and industry. He proceeded rigorously against the peasants who deserted their posts and thus rendered agricultural efforts futile, and he summoned alien citizens and peasants, whom he intrusted with the free hides in the country. He occasionally exempted them from taxes, and the state oftentimes aided them financially. But such assistance of necessity was only temporary and conferred no lasting benefit. The brief intervals that were not filled with horrible war cries could not banish the

misery which war had created in both city and country. Industry in the cities was still insignificant, and the debts had grown to enormous proportions. The immorality of the people sank to the lowest depths, and was made the more hideous, if possible, by the groveling submission of the oppressed ones. Such being the state of affairs, many plans had amounted to nothing, as for instance that of digging a canal between the Oder and the Spree, to say nothing of many much needed reforms.

After the horrors of the Thirty Years' War it was evident that there must exist sufficient means to maintain a military force in the country, but the classes of the March frequently refused the funds and were angered at the elector because he maintained his small army without their consent. The Prussian people were also highly displeased because the elector would act without calling the state legislature into session. They too refused to support the army, and the advisers even refused to take part in the discussions.

A meeting was called at Cleves, despite the fact that the elector had forbidden such assemblages, and roused public sentiment against the lord of the country. The worst form of particularism prevailed in the individual territories, and mutual hatred was so intense that even the ablest officer was tolerated only in that part of the empire where he was born. To form a state out of these various

lands and rights it was, first of all, necessary to abolish the contrast between the lord of the country and the various classes, to destroy the superiority of the latter, to remove the wall that separated the lord of the country from his subjects, and finally to reëstablish the direct relationship between the ruler and his people.

Out of the confusion of the organization of the various divisions, there had to be created a uniform, monarchical régime which should comprise, refresh and purify all conditions, and the government of the elector must care for all classes and all provinces alike. Of course he made far reaching concessions to settle matters more speedily and to secure the much needed financial help. In order to obtain a sum of somewhat more than half a million thalers from the people in the March, he was forced to issue an edict in 1653, according to which the classes,—the knights as well as the cities,—should have full authority over their subjects and slavery be continued.

This concession brought the weightiest results to the country population. For years the edict remained the foundation of the conditions of the people, and a great aid in strengthening the power of the lord of the country. Yet there were results of warlike conditions, and whatever they attempted to obtain they could acquire only by means of historical facts and not through act-

ing tyrannically, as was the case in France and Denmark.

The elector was far from intending to do away with the various classes. He saw in them an authorized member of the state, and demanded that they should serve the latter and not rule it, and like his ancestor he would have executed his task only negatively by mere violence, and would have roused displeasure instead of reconciliation. Hence he was determined to abandon all simple communal rights and to care alone for the essential political ones, so that the various classes at last lived in his empire, not side by side with or above him, but *under* him despite all granted privileges.

Even if the counselors whom the elector had summoned to his court, above all, Lord Chamberlain von Burgsdorf and Chancellor Götze, had pursued a purely Brandenburgian policy, disregarding advantages and disadvantages that were derived from the Russian and Rhenish provinces, the time was now come when he could start an all-embracing policy. How one "could unite all German lands of the elector," became one of the most important questions. We first note at that time the term "provinces," wonderfully expressive of the new attitude. The elector surrounded himself with men who,—like Prince Moritz of Nassau, General von Starr, Count Schwerin, Jena, Platen, Somnitz, Weimann, and chiefly Count Waldeck,—well knew

the value of the growing state and devoted themselves to the task which had been imposed upon them.

Finally, the elector was willing to grant a leave of absence to Burgsdorf, who was believed to care for the interests of the classes rather than those of the state, and whose disregard had greatly offended the tender feelings of the elector's wife Luise. Shortly before he had issued an edict (December 4, 1651), according to which the privy council was entirely reorganized. All business was arranged into a series of divisions, every one of the privy councilors obtaining a number of them to work out, so that each territory had its special representative in the council. The elector himself had the privilege of opening all documents and sending them to the individual councilors, and was authorized to issue the final verdict. He it was who ruled, even though von Blumenthal was elected director of the privy council in 1652. Often after hearing the opinion of his councilors he betook himself to his chamber to pray in secret and to discuss matters with his Luise. He had always met with success whenever he followed his wife's advice, so he declared after her death. It is said that he often stood before her picture and exclaimed, "O Luise, how much do I miss thy counsel!" She greatly benefited his people by the taste and knowledge which she displayed in establishing gardens and

farms, but chiefly through her piety and true womanly feelings. The orphan asylum which she founded shortly before the birth of the crown prince Karl Emil remains to this very day as a reminder of one of the noblest of women.

Aside from foreign policy, the privy council controlled a series of internal affairs, such as the postal system, mintage, and matters relating to the commerce in salt. Like the privy council, the chamber court was reformed and asked to control the finances and the army. The former were very meagre because of the classes, the war, and the graft, and all previous attempts had not brought any solution. "As long as I live," wrote Blumenthal to Waldeck, "I saw nothing more badly arranged than the chamber of Berlin; I do not believe that ten poor noblemen were in such poverty and want as the vaults of the elector at the present time; all bills had been laid aside and unjustified, and the offices had been controlled for years."

It became necessary to establish a permanent army as well as a permanent task. First of all, chiefly upon the persuasion of Waldeck, the entire financial system including the personal income of the electors was to be controlled by a main office consisting of Waldeck, Blumenthal, Schwerin, and Tornow, in order that the income might be arranged well and the expenditure proportioned rightly. It was determined to pawn those demesnes

which brought very little income, and to decrease and regulate the expenditures at the court. All demesnes were regulated, their income was figured out after twelve years of peace, and the crude system was turned into a monetary one which could be easily controlled.

Within five years the income more than doubled, which was proof of the great defects in the previous system. The plans of Waldeck, however, were never realized. These aimed to change the direct taxes, which greatly oppressed the poor man, into indirect taxes. Von Pfuel failed similarly when he consented to apportion the direct taxes more justly, and to have them controlled by officers of the elector instead of those of the classes. The latter, as well as a majority of the privy councilors, were opposed to the scheme, thinking that such taxes should be imposed only upon slaves. Both plans had to be abandoned, though they greatly pleased the elector. Still, while the latter regarded not only the fiscal interests, he "greatly furthered the interests of his poor subjects, as a genuine father of his country."

In order to secure his ends military protection was needed, and since there was not sufficient means of maintaining a permanent army, previously trained soldiers were settled in the country, receiving the usual pay, with the understanding that they should take up arms when necessary. Similar at-

tempts were made everywhere to revive the old system of calling the people to the colors, in accord with the changed state of affairs. Finally war commissioners were elected, to secure contributions according to well digested plans and to arrange taxes for the support of an army.

The latter required a large portion of the revenues, but it soon became evident that peace could not possibly be preserved without sufficient military authority.

The attitude of the emperor was shown as early as 1651, when there rose one point at least which induced him to yield. It seemed that the time had arrived for an imperial election and Brandenburg was needed for it. The elector promised to vote for the emperor on the understanding that the latter should induce Sweden to make peace, and not invest her with Pomerania or admit her to the imperial diet till she should evacuate Pomerania, since on account of Sweden's admission into the council of princes, it was difficult to prevent her participation in the imperial election.

Under such circumstances a personal meeting was arranged at Prague between the emperor and the elector, in November, 1652, and there the elector was also promised that Jägerndorf should be obtained. Sweden now consented to evacuate Pomerania and Frederick William, who had to yield regarding the sea revenues, obtained what he had de-

manded, namely, preservation of peace in the empire.

No sooner, however, was Ferdinand IV elected (May 21, 1653), than all regard for Brandenburg vanished, as did every hope of establishing some kind of a constitution in the empire. Jägerndorf, it was claimed, was justly taken possession of by the emperor, an embassy of the classes of Cleves was received by him, and the young palsgrave of Neuburg openly declared that Brandenburg had no claims upon Jülich-Cleves. Moreover, the emperor ordered that the fortresses Hamm and Lippstadt should be destroyed and the soldiers of the elector withdrawn.

The majority of the princes were incensed against the emperor. The electors of the Palatinate, Trier, and Cologne were specially vexed, and the college of the princes was grossly insulted because the old hegemony of the electors was allowed to continue its existence. All Protestant classes were greatly worried because the Catholics possessed the majority of votes in the college of electors, and the college of the princes as well was overwhelmingly Catholic after a number of Austrian princes joined it.

The elector had acted wisely and energetically at the diet and the Protestant princes and even a part of the Catholics, including the electors of Cologne and Trier, had gathered about him; thus in two re-

spects at least a considerable advance had been made. The recently established military constitution of the districts sufficed to defend the country, and since it was also decided that all subjects should help their prince defend the country against foreign enemies, the frequent complaints of the classes about their lord before the imperial aulic council or chamber court were ignored. This decision was to become of great importance in the evolution of the sovereignty.

No one will wonder at the plans adopted by Waldeck, who filled the most important position in the council of electors, after the previous surrender to the Hapsburgs had borne its bitter fruit, which should establish Germany's power even without her emperor. He dreamed of an alliance of the imperial princes, which should bring the peace and protection to Germany that the emperor was not willing to grant, and should be under the leadership of the mightiest Protestant state. The electorate of Brandenburg was to head a number of Protestant and Catholic German princes, and perhaps—with France as an ally—assume an important rôle in the European state concert, and a uniform German empire should thus be founded. "Vivid one must be," Count Waldeck declared on another occasion, and vivid he was when adopting the plan named. Yet the grand scheme was more magnificent and more patriotic than could be carried to

fruition at a time when everybody was jealous of, and filled with hatred against, Brandenburg.

We do not know what the elector thought of those plans,—he who was said to be inclined toward impracticable measures, yet always returned to reality and possibility. He ascribed no special importance to them and intervened in behalf of Bremen, which was greatly oppressed by Sweden, and saved the archbishop of Cologne from the plundering Lotharingian hordes who had invaded Liège.

Count Waldeck also negotiated with the different courts, but the most he could obtain was only a defensive allliance with the dukes of Brunswick. In vain had been the attempt at Regensburg to reestablish the empire which had disintegrated "like a broom." Nor were they really successful against the imperial policy which undertook to undermine the position of the German princes created by the Westphalian Treaty. The diet was closed without solving the great question of the German constitution.

While the marriage of young King Ferdinand IV with a Spanish princess created new hopes for Hapsburg of realizing its world-ruling power, the existence of the young Brandenburg state seemed to be at stake. Queen Christine of Sweden laid down her royal crown in 1654, and with the succession of her cousin Charles Gustavus of Pals-Zweibrücken

the possession of the Baltic provinces had become very doubtful.

Christine had called her cousin's attention to Sweden's claim on those provinces, which the bold, passionate and ambitious Charles Gustavus hardly needed, but he maintained those claims because of his own character and the necessity of directing the internal feuds in Sweden which endangered his crown in its relation to foreign affairs. He finally maintained them because of the immeasurable value of the dominion over the Baltic, "the mother of all commerce."

The great profit Denmark obtained from the Sound revenues and the increasing wealth which Holland as well as England knew how to acquire filled the Swedes with burning anger. They saw the loss of the Prussian harbors, "the eyes of the Baltic," and that of the hitherto exacted sea revenues. With the change of rulers it became an important question whether peace or war should prevail. It was decided in favor of the latter, and it was only doubtful as to whom Charles Gustavus would first attack. There were three possibilities which could satisfy the haughty nature of the king. It was likely that he would carry out the already attempted subjugation of Bremen, and secure the supposed claim of his House upon the Pals-Neuburg territories on the lower Rhine. A conflict between the Palatinate and Pals-Neuberg seemed

to give great hope of success to such plans, since the discord among the cities weakened the lord of the country very much.

It was certain that Sweden would reach out for the Brandenburg March of Cleves, in case she possessed Jülich-Berg. It was also probable that Charles Gustavus would attack the southern provinces of Sweden, which were still in the possession of Denmark, and possess himself of Bornholm, where the Danes endangered Swedish navigation on the Oder and in Pomerania. Thus he would deprive the Danes of the Sound and the taxes thereon formed Denmark's most important income. Finally, it was also likely that the king would attack Poland, which was utterly broken up, occupy the coast that had been controlled by Poland either directly or indirectly, and take final possession of Livonia. This would be easier because Poland, involved in a war by Russia, had suffered heavy losses in the East. Still who could doubt that the claims of Sweden upon Lower Pomerania and the Prussian provinces would excite the cupidity of the king? If Denmark were attacked, Brandenburg could look upon the development of the crises indifferently; in any other case Brandenburg was directly endangered. Charles Gustavus decided to move against Poland, which was his most dangerous enemy.

The rising of the storm could not escape the

elector. Whatever his policy, he seemed to be surrounded by two formidable enemies,—Poland and Sweden,—and he feared lest he should lose "the pupil of his eye," the Prussian duchy. He saw no foreign assistance in any direction that he turned. He could think neither of Austria nor of the German princes, although the imperial constitution requested them to protect German territory. Denmark, despite her extent, seemed to be utterly impotent, because of the miserable constitution of the country. The Netherlands were the only people with whom he could negotiate concerning a treaty, for every expansion of Sweden in the Baltic injured the highly developed commerce which the Dutch carried on with the Baltic harbors, while they exported thence the wheat and wood, which they needed so much for their ships; but since the republican party which ruled there saw in every assistance given to the elector a big gain for the monarchic form of the constitution, it was extremely difficult to induce them to enter into an agreement.

The elector therefore did everything possible to preserve peace, and negotiated incessantly at Warsaw and Stockholm. He was rejected at the former, and treated very impolitely at the latter. Gustavus demanded Memel and Pillau, the most important parts of Prussia, while the elector was accused by one court of negotiating with the other. Yet how could he avoid war without negotiating

with either party and without urging the maintenance of peace? Or was the elector of Brandenburg blamable because he prepared his country for war and sought to protect its interests? Or was Sweden's expansion in Germany in behalf of the latter? Beyond doubt, Polish overlordship in German Prussia was based upon imperial laws, but none the less it was a wretched alien government over a German country which could no longer be tolerated because of the weakness of the Polish empire.

To rend asunder the fetters of slavery has always been regarded as a merit, and to free German lands from the foreign yoke was a moral necessity which was not rendered less holy because the rule of the oppressors had been borne for almost a century. The necessity was the more serious since clinging to Poland would lead only to a change of the alien government, that is, a shift of sovereignty from Poland to Sweden. It was not expected that her degenerated people would be able to overthrow or even check Sweden. Owing to the well known greed of the latter everybody knew that she would simply occupy the German coast in case of a victory over Poland, if Brandenburg should be her ally, or, if Brandenburg fought on the side of Sweden, the latter would control and profoundly influence the electorate.

Should the elector be endowed with the talent of

Odysseus, and know how to steer his boat between the Swedish Scylla and the Polish Charybdis? Or should he possess sufficient power to lead Prussia toward freedom and render her German once more, liberated from Poland's and Sweden's rule? All depended upon the establishment of the correct balance between those two powers.

In July, 1655, Charles Gustavus marched against Poland, along the River Oder, and as he had not consented to the demands of the elector in behalf of a treaty abolishment of the sovereignty alliance between the March and Prussia and the bishopric of Ermland, Frederick William hastened to organize the military strength of Prussia so that neutrality could be maintained. Here is what actually happened: under the influence of the prodigious blows of Charles Gustavus the weak Polish empire crumbled and the king's haughtiness toward Brandenburg became bolder. The elector was compelled to unite himself with Sweden, for he could not reckon upon imperial assistance and Holland did not give the aid which she had promised.

It was not the advice of Cromwell, nor that of the dukes of Brunswick, to seek the interests of the Protestants by an alliance with Sweden, but rather the menace of the latter, which induced the elector to enter into the Treaty of Königsberg on the 16th of January, 1656. Sorely vexed, Frederick William granted overlordship over Prussia to the Swedes,

promised to open the Prussian harbors and to pay one-half of the sea revenues, evacuated Marienburg and other Prussian strongholds, and pledged to furnish 1,500 soldiers.

On the other hand, Sweden promised to evacuate ducal Prussia, united Ermland with the latter, and renounced a number of privileges which Poland had hitherto claimed. She abandoned the exaction of tribute, and the privilege to impose extraordinary taxes.

It was of considerable importance that the elector had promised only 1,500 men, although he possessed an army of some 20,000 which were commanded by famous leaders, including men like Sparr and Derfflinger. At all European courts it was believed the elector had entered into a scheme for uniting Sweden and England, which had reached her prime under Cromwell, to proceed energetically against the Catholics, and under the leadership of France to overthrow the House of Austria.

On their part, the Catholic power intended to proceed against the Protestants, hoping that the emperor himself would mobilize an army of 60,000 to oppose Sweden and Brandenburg. In the West also the Jesuitic zeal of the lord of Pals-Neuberg threatened to endanger all. But the Poles rose anew with extraordinary vigor soon after their defeat and, filled with national and religious fervor,

they contended with the Swedes until the latter were hardly able to resist.

Thus the situation changed entirely and Charles Gustavus depended upon the Brandenburg army. Yet the ruthless invasions of Lower Pomerania and the New March by Poland, and the cruelty toward all Germans, compelled the elector to disregard his attempts to make peace and to defend his country against the assaults of the Poles. June 26, 1656, a new treaty was concluded at Marienburg between Sweden and Brandenburg, according to which the latter was to be freed from Swedish sovereignty, obtain four Polish palatinates, and aid the Swedes with an army of 4,000 Brandenburgers until the end of the war. Brandenburg promised to aid its ally with its entire strength down to the close of 1656. At the same time Frederick William, in his desire to induce the king of Poland to make peace, persuaded Charles Gustavus to offer Poland to the Polish king as a hereditary monarchy. John Kasimir rejected that offer, whereupon the Brandenburg and Swedish troops united and, on July 28, a battle was fought near Warsaw. It lasted for three days and the Poles were defeated most decisively. The onslaught of the Brandenburgers under the leadership of Sparr on the third day brought "glorious victory" to the allies. This was the first military achievement of the Brandenburg army. It meant the liberation of

Prussia from the Slavic yoke and her return to Germany.

This battle, however, was of little importance in the eyes of many. The Poles revolted again, and inflicted heavy losses upon the Swedes in Westphalia, so that Charles Gustavus, whose army was weakened because of diseases, could do nothing in behalf of Prussia, Pomerania and the Marches. Furthermore, the king feared that Denmark would make use of his decreasing power and invade Sweden herself. Few or none doubted that the emperor would proceed from Silesia in order to attack the most powerful Protestant imperial prince, the unwelcome guarantor of the Westphalian Peace, especially since tremendous excitement had seized all Catholic powers. Perhaps Holland would help. The fleet which she was sending into the Baltic was ordered not to leave to the Swedes the harbors, which were of great importance for Dutch commerce.

In order to make the situation of Charles Gustavus much worse, the czar of Moscow interfered, ordering his troops to march against Riga and unite them with the Poles. He was willing to enter into an agreement even with the elector according to which Prussia should acknowledge Russian overlordship. Finally there was brought about what Charles Gustavus had been fearing for a long time: the Poles occupied Danzig and thereby cut him off

from Pomerania. Now the king stood alone, and if Brandenburg should desert him, he was lost.

Poland had already tried to win over the elector. Charles Gustavus, whose proud plans had come to naught, was forced to make concessions to the elector, whom he recognized, at the Treaty of Labiau (November 10, 1656), as the "supreme, absolute and sovereign prince of Prussia"; and both rulers promised to assist each other. Thus the duchy was separated forever from Poland, while Brandenburg had to give up all claims upon the Polish palatinates.

Meanwhile, Charles Gustavus deprived the treaty of its foundation. He rejected all attempts of the elector, France and Holland to make peace, negotiated with the prince of Transylvania and the Cossacks with regard to a division of Poland, and proceeded as far as the Carpathians. Thus he refused to assist Brandenburg against Poland notwithstanding the treaty mentioned, and exposed it to the Poles. Since England and France allied themselves in opposition to Spain and menaced the Austrian power which was endangered because of Emperor Ferdinand's death, Austria agreed with Poland and Denmark also made war upon Sweden.

The king hastened back from Galicia with his Swedes, who were thoroughly hated everywhere, and went on toward Holstein and Jutland. By the terms of the treaty he had to assist Prussia with

an army of 6,000, but he withdrew almost all his troops from Prussia, sought to obtain help from Cromwell, whom he promised German territory, and left the elector to himself in his war against the Austro-Polish alliance and the western enemies.

The elector was now exposed to the vengeance of the Poles, but at the same time he was master of his plans. He had to seek reconciliation with John Kasimir, and save the sovereignty in Prussia. The position of Brandenburg had grown so important that the envoys of the foreign powers,—Sweden, Poland, France, and Austria,—fought against each other in order to win over the elector. Poland offered him what he desired, the basis whereon he could stand—the sovereignty. He could no longer hesitate unless he wished Brandenburg to be punished by Charles Gustavus in his desire to conquer.

In accordance with the treaty he notified the king that he had been forced to enter into an agreement with Poland—although he recognized the king's expedition in behalf of Sweden—because his negotiation had come to naught and there had been no hope that the king would undertake anything in behalf of his (the elector's) territory. On September 19 and November 6, 1657, he signed the treaties of Wehlau and Bromberg, by which he renounced his claims upon Ermland and the four Polish palatinates, while Poland recognized the elector's sover-

eignty in Prussia without obliging him to array himself against Sweden. Löwenberg, Bütow and Draheim were promised to the elector, while Elbing was to belong to Poland after the fortifications had been destroyed. On account of these treaties, a solemn meeting took place between the elector and the royal couple, and it looked as if peace would be brought about through the mediation of Brandenburg.

None the less, the immense successes of Charles Gustavus against Denmark rendered futile all plans regarding peace, and Charles Gustavus even made preparations to punish Brandenburg, and menaced the whole of North Germany. The political dependence upon Sweden and France, according to the terms of the Westphalian Treaty, clearly showed that Germany was controlled by an alien government. The economical dependence of Germany because of the loss of the mouths of her rivers, and the foreign revenues on the coast of the German Sea and the Baltic, destroyed all material development of the empire. "We have almost become servants of a foreign nation after the last war," wrote the elector in one of his pamphlets to the "Honest German." He continued, "for what are the Rhine, Elbe, Weser, Oder, but prisoners of foreign nations? What is our freedom but a plaything of others? Of the once beautiful body of the German empire nothing was left save the skele-

ton; everyone in whose heart German blood was coursing needs had to weep. Let everyone who does not wish to eat Swedish bread be aware of his duties toward the honor of the German name and let him not sin against his own kin and his Fatherland which had once surpassed all nations. Do thou remember that thou art a German."

This exhortation had little effect. A great number of German princes joined France, the Rhenish Treaty was concluded (August 14, 1658), in which mutual help was promised from which Brandenburg was to be excluded. It was also decided to assist Sweden, should Brandenburg in addition to Poland attack her because of the duchies of Bremen and Verdun, of which she had possessed herself.

Upon the advice of France and Sweden some of these princes desired the election of a new emperor who was not of the House of Hapsburg, which would render Germany the field of rivalry between France-Sweden and Austria-Spain. Three electors were in favor of Austria and three against her. Thus she had to win over Brandenburg; since the elector sought an alliance with Austria, disregarding the bitter experiences of the last imperial election, and lest the influence of the foreign powers should decrease in the empire, he entered into a defensive league with Austria. Although he hesitated to assist the latter as required by the signed treaty,

chiefly because of Brandenburg's claims upon Silesia, he supported Leopold, who was elected emperor on the 18th of July, 1658.

This union between the Catholic-Austrian and the Protestant-Brandenburg power provided the elector with the means of checking further attack by the Swedes, of bringing to an end the unhappy ecclesiastical divisions among the princes, of emphasizing national German interests toward the alien rule by France and Sweden, and of coming out victorious in the end.

In August, 1658, Charles Gustavus began war anew and again attacked Denmark. The opportune moment for the elector to act had come. He knew that the decision was not to be looked for in Poland, nor Prussia, nor Pomerania, but in Holstein. For there Charles Gustavus thought himself quite secure and he could also protect Lower Saxony. Heading an army of Brandenburg and Polish troops as well as an imperial force, Frederick William marched against Holstein and deprived the Swedes of Schleswig-Holstein, and Jutland, while a Dutch fleet defeated the Swedish in the Sound. It was at this time that a Dutch citizen requested that the elector should be made "admiral-general" of all German ships. This was far from being realized, but as early as December the elector occupied the Island of Alsen by a splendid military stroke.

Finally the rumor of the invincibility of the Swedish arms was impaired, Charles Gustavus was forced to confine himself to a defensive policy, to give up the siege of Copenhagen, and to surrender Friedrichsdorf to the elector. At last a German army was led to attack and defeat foreign oppressors, and even at Vienna it was admitted that the whole of Europe recognized the elector's merit. True, they disregarded Brandenburg's claims after all those victories and thought of continuing the war against France in behalf of the Spanish.

Under these circumstances the policy of Mazarin came to the fore, since France could not desire Sweden's overthrow. The elector replied that it had been incumbent upon him to defend the provinces which he possessed by God's grace, and he did not know why anyone should blame him on that account. But in The Hague, Mazarin directed attention to England, so that Holland yielded to the two powers, making the most favorable concessions to Sweden, and did not assist the elector in the occupation of Fünen after the fall of Fanö.

In accordance with the so-called Hague Concerts (summer of 1659), the conflict with Sweden was brought to an end, and France, England and Holland strove to induce Sweden and Denmark to make peace. Meanwhile, France had fought so successfully against Spain that the latter was forced to conclude a preliminary peace with her, which

created a Franco-Spanish hegemony from an Austro-Spanish one.

Austria determined to prevent this, and in order to turn the French armies away from Spain an expedition was undertaken against Pomerania. We know of no other reason for such a movement, since Vienna was far from occupying that province for Brandenburg and had no desire to realize the old plan of Wallenstein to expand Austria to the Baltic. It was believed that France would not wish to see Sweden so much weakened by a conquest of Pomerania. Such an invasion of the latter was the beginning of war with France. Although the elector greatly disliked such an invasion, which would considerably weaken the position of the allies in Jutland, he was obliged to participate in it. His own interests as well as the conditions of Europe, which were endangered by the imminent French supremacy, demanded it.

Only too soon his fears were justified. After France had concluded the Pyrenean Peace with Spain (November 8, 1659), which had been confirmed by a marriage, the emperor had sufficient grounds to proceed with all speed. Since the attack upon Pomerania brought no relief for the Spanish, and since the latter had been forced to yield to France, Austrian energy weakened and the siege of Stettin was given up, despite the defeats of the Swedes at Nyborg, in Pomerania, in Poland

and Fünen. Thus France gained a free hand in the north and would by no means consent to see Sweden lose anything, after she had greatly suffered because of the war and the death of her ruler (February 23rd). Although the elector had sought to keep Stettin, which the emperor had promised him, he once more was forced to cede all German provinces to Sweden. The emperor remarked that the elector would not, because of such insignificant differences, oppose a general peace in whose behalf he had worked more than anybody else.

In the monastery of Oliva peace was signed on May 3, 1660. Frederick William ceded to Sweden all his German territories and the mouth of the River Oder without obtaining Elbing, which Sweden had promised to give him. The elector was deserted by all; neither a foreign power nor any German prince assisted him in opposing the alien rule of the Swedes which the Westphalian Treaty had established in Germany.

Yet Sweden's power would have been destroyed had not France saved it, and had not the emperor by giving up his fight made it possible for her to do so. Notwithstanding the general envy of the young rising commonwealth, the independence of Brandenburg had been obtained through brave struggles and the elector's dignity was recognized by all. It was true that Pomerania had been ceded to aliens, and although the empire had for almost a

century been suffering losses on its frontiers, yet a great German country had been regained in the duchy of Prussia.

Although the emperor was opposed to annexing Prussia to the German empire, the " new Germany " had been conquered from the Slavs, and Sweden as well as Poland was forced to recognize anew the promises that had been made to the elector, among others the sovereignty in Prussia. Standing outside of the confused German conditions, with but one-third of his territories, as sovereign prince, the elector tried to unite that duchy with its old provinces and to turn it into a German state, for which internal conditions were of the utmost importance.

CHAPTER II

FROM THE PEACE OF OLIVA TO THE PEACE OF ST. GERMAIN. 1660-1678

ALL through the fearful horrors of war had clearly appeared the mobility of the constitution of the classes in the various territories. Whatever the elector had undertaken previously was only a beginning or an attempt. Since 1654 the question had been raised, not as to whether the classes would be willing to contribute in behalf of the defense of the country, but how much they would contribute.

This proved quite difficult, and the elector was forced to exact without asking the consent of the classes. It was obvious that, if a state should be created despite the confused conditions in the empire which would pursue an honorable policy and protect its subjects, the lord of the country would of necessity base his sovereignty, which had been granted him by foreign powers in accordance with the laws of nations, upon his sovereignty within the country. He had to become the lord of the finances and taxes, and in order to obtain them he must guard the interest of his subjects. This was

one of the principal duties the elector had to fulfill, especially because the classes not only refused to assist the lord of the country but greatly oppressed the subjects. All those peasants that had not been expelled from hearth and home by the ruthless war rendered service to their masters, who were usually exempted from taxes.

In the cities gross immorality prevailed, and the worst possible arrangement of finances. The ruling magistrates imposed intolerable taxes upon the ordinary citizen, while they themselves took care to escape the burden. While in the Rhenish provinces the wealthiest person paid taxes amounting to five or six thalers and prelates and knights paid nothing, the poorest man had to give up fifteen thalers or more and the peasants as much as a whole city together.

The Prussian governor, Prince Radziwill, wrote that Königsberg did not pay a farthing, and that the wealthiest citizens understood how to rid themselves of the taxes. The classes believed they had only privileges, and refused to know anything of duties. They considered their own interests far more important than the weal of the country which they hardly understood.

The governing lord, who disregarded personal and local interests in behalf of the common good, by permitting himself to be guided by that principle, established his state. His deep knowledge

of the woful state of affairs revealed to him how he could overcome the mountainous evil. He did not wish to deprive the various classes of their privileges, but only to perform the duties they had neglected. *Pro Deo et pro populo* was the essence of his conception of state after the battle at Warsaw. He always intended to cut off softly all rotten branches, tenderly charitable in the actual circumstances. And while he and his government did what others should have done, he became the center of all interests and his state the root that nourished all branches of the tree. He met with justification and reconciliation even among his enemies. It is characteristic of the demeanor of the elector that it was believed in Prussia at the time of the most fearful wars against him, that he was "a noble and gentle lord," and he himself once remarked, "in cases of *extremæ necessitatis,* where it is a question regarding the self-preservation of the state, the privileges of the individuals, and hence those of the nobles and the cities, can have no validity."

First of all, the taxes were necessarily controlled by the lord of the country. They had to be regular, permanent, just, and in accordance with the circumstances of the individuals. They were needed not only in order to maintain an army, but to give to the individual the possibility of his trade. It was necessary to impose taxes upon the various

classes in order to defend the country and a system had to be invented which should distribute these taxes equitably and bring improved conditions in general.

The elector therefore aimed to introduce the so-called excise instead of the old house and property tax. This assessed as many necessaries as possible, distributed the burden more justly, and did away with the detested exaction of taxes. Naturally it was difficult to overcome the ancient prejudices according to which the payment of taxes was unbecoming to every freeman, and was no more than a favor done to the lord of the country.

The nobility especially opposed the new scheme which deprived them of their old privileges. The elector did not intend to introduce this system into the flat lands, and meant to give the cities free choice. Thus the excise was in operation only in a few cities of the March (1667), but it proved to be a most excellent remedy for the lower classes and the bourgeois accepted it whenever the magistrates rejected it. "A divine inspiration," this reform was called, and everywhere the elector was entreated to introduce it. Later on the instalment of a commissioner of taxes became of first importance for the government of the cities, as well as for the evolution of the state itself, which was to control the excise and in the course of time exerted a pro-

found influence over the government of the cities and the guild, that had miserably decayed.

The interference with their finances and the revelation of graft and favoritism were greatly feared by the greedy magistrates of the cities, chiefly in the Rhenish provinces and in Prussia, where the classes held the most extensive privileges. Here a resolute but benevolent, gentle, and cautious procedure was advisable, since the people of both countries were likely to find assistance in hostile alien powers,—for Holland and Poland would have given aid against the rising Brandenburg. Although as early as the fifties the classes in Cleves had seemed dangerous, the electoral governor, Prince Moritz of Nassau-Siegen, succeeded in inducing them to renounce the claims which they had obtained in the time of upheavals. They yielded their privilege of assent to the recruiting and introduction of soldiers, as well as the necessity of requiring the magistrates to take the oath of allegiance; the elector could now personally begin the much needed reforms.

Conditions in Prussia were more difficult, and the misery was heightened because of war, pestilence and famine. The country was like a desert, and "wherever men were seen, they were only objects of pity, and misery and grief were common." For years Prince Radziwill and Otto of Schwerin had fought the classes in behalf of the most important

governmental rights, the much needed financial measures.

The people were oppressed and enslaved by the government; and the elector saw it was best to protect the people against the arbitrary rule of the classes. The latter refused to recognize the sovereignty, declaring the latter had no value without their consent, since Poland could not cede to the elector more than she possessed. But it was only sovereignty Poland had ceded to him, which the latter had claimed, while he fully recognized all privileges and rights of the classes, inasmuch as they were not opposed to his sovereignty.

On account of the yielding to Swedish overlordship to which the main counselors, country counselors, and representatives of the nobles and cities had consented, and to which the country diet had not been opposed, that statement had lost all force of evidence. But how could the classes expect to possess the power over a privilege which belonged to Poland and not to them, and which the former had given up? And if they were privileges which they defended, they were obtained from and contended for against the lord of the country in times of distress and weakness. Could anyone be surprised at the lord if he attempted to regain them after his power had been strengthened? By means of never ending complaints about the taxes which had been exacted during the war, although they had

not been granted; about the yoke of March, which the true neighbors of Poland regarded as an alien rule; and about the dangers with which the reformed prince threatened the Lutherans and the pope, they sought to induce the lower classes of Königsberg to resist the elector.

The leaders were the Königsberg bailiff Hieronymus Rhode and his brother, a Jesuit. Here, too, the main counselors as well as the magistrates feared lest they should be asked to give an account of their government. But ere long the common people at least acquiesced and the elector expected to obtain everything he desired, with their aid. The common man now recognized that his protection depended upon his dutiful submission to the lord of the country. Real danger, however, lay in the relation of the opponents to Sweden and especially to Poland, with which certain treacherous alliances had been concluded. Bitterly would they have been disappointed if the plan had been realized and if the thought of placing the crown of the Jagellones upon the elector's head had not failed of accomplishment on account of the latter's Protestant creed. When under the Polish queen's protectorate, the duke of Enghien was believed to have become heir to the Polish throne, the opposition could reckon upon French assistance and a Swedish army, and new entanglement seemed to arise in the empire which kept the elector busy. Thus he was

forced to yield, and in March, 1663, he granted the classes all privileges, particularly that of allowing taxes. He retained only the right to defend the country and to control its demesnes, while the classes consented that reformed citizens should be permitted to fill governmental and judicial offices. Upon the whole the elector had obtained far more than he expected. After that, as late as October, the classes took the oath of allegiance before the elector as their sovereign duke.

For many years there was a party in Prussia that was angered with the elector, stubbornly refusing to pay the most necessary taxes and still hoping to become Polish. Especially noteworthy were the wild and savage attacks of Colonel Kalckstein, who was incensed at the elector. Finally he was seized in Warsaw, tried, and put to death for high treason. On that occasion the prescribed rules of a trial were violated, and to this day many blame the elector on that account. It did not appear to him an act of violence, but the simple performance of his duty, demanded in self-defense against intrigues by means of which it was intended to bring Prussia once more under Polish sway.

But if the people had cared only for their own weal and looked indifferently upon the decline of the whole, the fulfillment of his duty was to the elector the foundation and justification of his state. He did everything for agriculture, commerce and

communication; he settled alien colonies in the flat lands, and summoned foreign craftsmen and merchants to the depopulated cities. The citizens still lacked the courage and capital which were needed for greater mercantile enterprises. As late as 1647, the city of Berlin had few or no bricklayers, builders, and masons. Through monopolies and other privileges, the elector attracted capitalists to his country and carried on an extensive commerce, especially with Lüneburg salt.

Soon there was only one department of commerce and industry, which greatly flourished under Raban of Canstein. It was intended to develop local enterprise and enable it to compete with the more prosperous foreign industry, also to utilize all the raw materials of the country. Consequently tolls on foreign trades were raised, exportation of raw materials was made difficult, and the exportation of wool was entirely forbidden.

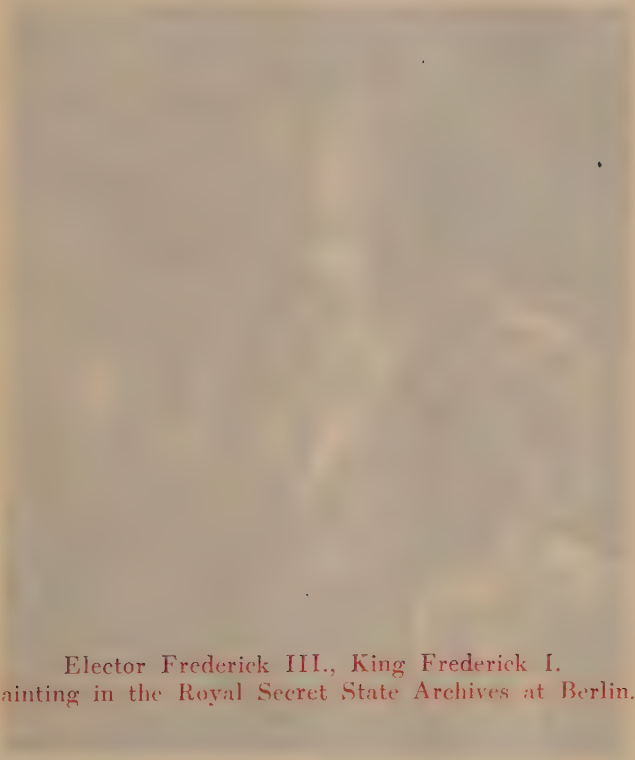
The promptness and reliability of the postal system astonished all foreigners and brought in a profit of 20,000 imperial thalers, whereas previously there had been a large deficit. The postal improvement dated from 1654, when Michael Mathias was elected general postmaster. The Frederick William Canal partly replaced the loss of the mouth of the Oder, uniting the Elbe and the Oder, and transporting the important Hamburg-Breslau commerce through the March. The elector was highly de-

lighted when the first ships arrived at Berlin. Commercial treaties were concluded with foreign powers, chiefly with England, and local navigation was encouraged in every possible manner. Good roads were built and fiscal tolls abolished. In the course of a short time Berlin prospered greatly, favored by excise instead of contribution, and the commerce of Königsberg extensively increased through practical fire and building police arrangements. During 1667 alone, fully 150 houses were built, and notwithstanding all dangers because of wars, much was done in behalf of culture and education, especially through the *Gymnasia*. The elector found means of reviving the universities at Frankfort and Königsberg; even in the midst of the struggles he had time to found a new one—that of Duisburg. He also established a library, aided the first book store at Berlin (1659), and summoned many scholars and artists to his court. From Holland, whose fine arts had greatly impressed Frederick William in his youth, there came to Berlin many sculptors, architects and painters, including the brothers Gerard and Willen van Hanthost, and they were variously employed by the elector. He contemplated erecting small castles, including that at Potsdam and the one in the neighboring Bornim.

Thoroughly convinced that the conscience of his subjects did not belong to him, but to God, and that

no potentate in the world could dictate the faith of his subjects, he was determined to tolerate all creeds that had been proclaimed by his grandfather and which assisted immensely in the founding of the state. Thus he took a step which was far remote from the rule that was still in vogue both theoretically and practically—*cuis regio eius religio*. He clung firmly to his reformed confession, and only in pamphlets and the pulpit did he oppose the vicious scolding and rage against the reformed confession, and plead in behalf of peace in the Church. He demanded further that "the unchristian accusing of heresy, blaspheming and condemning" should cease. He requested the clergymen to issue a Reverse, according to which they should perform the christening in accord with the desire of the parents. One of the most moderate Lutheran clergymen, the famous poet of church songs, Paul Gerhardt, was therefore opposed to the electoral consistorium, and only after he was deposed from and reinstalled in his office did he quit the latter because of his conscience.

The elector regarded the peace of the Church as of the highest importance, for on account of the profound passion with which all of the population participated in the ecclesiastical upheavals, the country was greatly imperiled. He therefore aimed to reform the judicial system and did so with great care. It was decided to change court procedure,



Elector Frederick III., King Frederick I.
Painting in the Royal Secret State Archives at Berlin.

to establish new forms for the election of officers for the chamber court, and above all to establish a supreme tribunal of appeals. Nothing definite was accomplished because of the opposition of the various classes. Ordinary courts were to pass verdict instead of the privy council, and all judicial matters which had been controlled by the latter were to be conferred upon a special commission.

The elector gave special attention to the finances, and improved matters by placing them in the control of one man, Raban of Canstein. To him was delegated "the inspection over all demesnes and in trades, in all our provinces." By making the highest financial officer of the state also lord-marshal, the elector dispensed with the old rule according to which the demesnes of the princely families, which still formed the ground stock of the income of the state were in the first place to serve the needs of the princely household and only what was left was to go to the state. Henceforth, however, only a part of the income from all estates was drawn into the vaults of the elector. In this was shown his conception of his duties to the state. At the same time an effort was made to secure a centralized government of the finances, but it did not succeed.

The most important reform regarding the privy council was the election of Otto of Schwerin as "supreme president" of that body (August 30, 1658), after he had several times refused the honor.

He controlled all affairs regarding the state, jurisdiction and feudal system. This office could become the cornerstone of the growing unity of the state and was regarded as the most important in the elector's dominion.

Still there were enemies everywhere, and as a consequence the military organization had to remain the foundation of the state. During the last war the elector had equipped an army of some 36,000 men, but after the Peace of Oliva he reduced the force to 3,550 and in the face of strong opposition he found means of supporting that small number. Still, as early as 1666, a monthly tax of 22,000 thalers "pro ordinario onere" was imposed upon the people.

Thus a permanent army was organized, and it proved a potent factor in the development of the power of the elector. Gradually his sense of duty was transferred to his counselors, officers and magistrates. In this recognition of the people was clearly shown the beginning of the subjects' desire for uniformity, and an appreciation of the duties they owed the state.

A great deal had been accomplished, but the elector gave much consideration to the oppressed of his subjects. In 1666 he increased his army to nearly 7,000 men. Even in time of peace the same number of officers was maintained, but they had to content themselves with a smaller salary than

formerly. This was especially noteworthy since it affected the elector's most distinguished generals, like Sparr, Derfflinger, and the prince of Anhalt, for he was confident that those men would place the services rendered to the state above their own interests. Contrary to previous custom in accordance with which colonels and captains chose their lieutenants and sublieutenants, the elector organized his little army as befitted the dignity and rights of a sovereign, himself selecting officers who were held together through discipline, zeal and patriotic duty.

Of extraordinary importance for the army and the whole state as well, there developed in the course of time an institution,—the General War Commissariat with its numerous subdivisions, the commissariats for the different provinces and their excellent officers, and the commissioners of taxes. These offices became both a court of taxes and a court of police, through their activity in behalf of the entire military organization, and had to care largely for the common welfare, thereby rendering the classes less powerful, depriving them of the exaction and control of taxes, and making the authority of the ruler an excellent means of welding together the various parts of the country.

In a similar manner the army expanded in another respect. From its maintenance there followed the demand of the elector to establish garrisons in

the cities, in order that they might be enabled to defend themselves, for they had let their fortifications decay. The elector now began to build strongholds with fiscal means (at Berlin in 1657), and his soldiers rendered military service. Through this policy the people were freed from a heavy burden, while in the military government of the elector as well as in the commissariat there grew automatically a further support of the ruler's government which, despite the numerous obstacles encountered, was to prove of the utmost importance to the welfare of the country.

Even though all these reforms were the result of a momentary necessity and not perhaps in accordance with a general programme, and even though they needed to be changed and amended, and the elector himself regarded them simply as beginnings and a product of the wars and the perilous times, they none the less formed the nucleus of something better which was to come. Most of all, they exercised extraordinary influence upon the agriculture of the country.

Showing the attitude and aim of the elector, there exists an interesting and elaborate pamphlet,—the so-called *Political Testament*, published in May, 1667, as an instruction volume for his successor. In it he reviewed almost the whole field of domestic and foreign politics, the latter more fully than the former, according to the necessities of the time.

Regarding domestic politics, the elector demanded above everything else charity toward the poor, the building of new churches and the furtherance of the peace of the Church, in which the reformed citizens would greatly aid him. The privileges which had once been granted to the Catholics should be secured unconditionally to them, the universities were to be cared for. He desired his successor to be friendly and merciful toward the nobles, to love all subjects as a true father of the country, to further their welfare and commerce, to seek to increase the growth of the population, and to treat with equal justice both the rich and the poor. He warned the new elector to be very careful when choosing counselors and to make them depend upon him, but to pay them enough to live decently and not find it necessary to be bribed. He should listen to all counselors, to the youngest first, lest the younger should be scared by the opinion of the elder counselor. Like the bees which seek the best secretion from all flowers he should select and utilize the wisest opinions.

With regard to foreign politics, he insisted upon the preservation of peace and the necessity of maintaining honorable relations with other nations and of imploring the Lord for a tranquil government. Since everybody was hostile to Brandenburg, it was necessary to entertain friendly relations with all powers, without surrendering any rights and

claims. Thus it was necessary while entering into an alliance with the emperor to consider the welfare of the empire, of the Protestants, and finally of the elector himself.

Regarding the treaty with Poland he must consider his sovereignty; with Sweden, the harbors; with France, the empire and its constitution; and with Holland he must dispense with her injustice in the Rhenish provinces. It was necessary further to enter into alliance with England and Denmark, since their fleets would be able to protect the harbors.

Especially emphasized was the alliance with Holland because of her fleet, her similar religion, and the Dutch commercial interests in the East; besides she was one of the oldest allies. Still, while alliances seemed of great importance, domestic power was even greater, for upon it one could rely more safely, wherefore the successor was requested to maintain the old and establish new strongholds and arsenals. There was also a full discussion regarding the duchy of Prussia, and the successor was earnestly warned against the classes and main counselors there. If the successor took to heart these warnings and trod always the path of the righteous he would—so it was stated—secure a happy government and have to fear "None save the Lord," and enjoy prosperity and constant tranquillity throughout the country.

One sees that the elector directed his successor's attention to almost every field of interest, not ceasing to emphasize the necessity of peace, a requirement of prosperity; and he maintained the much-needed quiet for Brandenburg and Germany, aside from an unimportant expedition against Turkey. Admirable was the wisdom with which the elector suppressed the grim war god, who would raise his head everywhere. Since Germany, whose French border had become uncertain, was divided into three groups according to the influence exerted by Sweden, France, or Austria, every dispute between two German princes could lead to a general war. Many times did the elector stake his honor in mediating in behalf of a peaceful settlement of such quarrels. Because of the general state of affairs and the French plans regarding the Polish royal election, he succeeded in forming an agreement with Pals-Neuburg whereby feuds in the Rhenish provinces were terminated, the electoral estates there rendered more secure, and French intentions of obtaining the Spanish Netherlands were considerably checked.

Meanwhile the long-dreaded war between England and Holland had broken out, chiefly through the efforts of France, and the bishop of Münster had personally assumed the struggle against Holland which had greatly vexed him, while France had sided with the Netherlands. Thus the struggle of

the maritime powers must needs turn into a war conducted upon German soil. Both the emperor and Spain were eager to attack France and to declare imperial war. Sweden, although courted by France, entered into an alliance with England and threatened to make common cause with Münster. No one could foresee the end of the war, and it was fortunate, indeed, that the elector, who was forced to mobilize his army, succeeded in settling hostilities between Münster and the Netherlands at the Treaty of Cleves.

His dignity had greatly augmented, so that France sought to come into closer contact with him, as did Sweden and Denmark, the dukes of Brunswick, and the electorate of Cologne. Hesse-Cassel concluded defensive alliances, and even the emperor renewed the alliance of 1658 for the sake of mutual defense, and the General States had to be more careful concerning him.

Thus the state of affairs in Germany was greatly changed, and the influence which Sweden exerted in the north was checked, as was the case with France in the west, deep into the heart of Germany and even into Poland. To the accusations heaped upon him for having permitted himself to be subjected by the emperor, he replied that he was neither imperial nor Spanish, nor French, but only and solely in favor of his country, and that he considered

all *consilia* and *actiones* only in behalf of the freedom of the empire.

At this comparatively favorable juncture, the elector was warranted in an attempt to obtain the archbishopric and city of Magdeburg, which had been promised him by the Westphalian Treaty. The unhappy strifes in the city, which claimed to be independent owing to spurious and no longer existing privileges given by Otto I, and the weakness of the Saxon administrator, had rendered the city defenseless. The disgraceful subjugation of Erfurt accomplished by the archbishop of Mainz with French troops made the danger of a similar surprise, whether by France or by Sweden, sufficiently imminent.

From the view point of commercial policy and militarism, Magdeburg was the most important Elbe pass which protected the Marches and secured the connection between the eastern and western provinces of the elector. While several regiments under General Sparr gathered at Halberstadt, Jena and Platen negotiated with the counselors and citizens at Wanzleben with the consent of the administrator, and demanded that the oath of allegiance should be taken before the elector and that the city should surrender. Within a few days both demands were granted through the Treaty of the Monastery of Berge (May 28). An electoral squadron entered Magdeburg, the citizens swore alle-

giance to the elector, and began to fortify the place. Thus arrogant independence was destroyed, Magdeburg obtained an orderly government, and one of the most important German cities was saved from alien rule.

Once more the elector knew how to avoid a general war by destroying its cause offered by Sweden's procedure against the city of Bremen. But all endeavors and mediations were of no avail against the insatiable ambition of Louis XIV of France, whose mighty arm had suppressed all powers within his empire and founded an absolutism which knew no restrictions, and who had made use of all the means of his country.

As soon as Louis had established absolutism in his own land he turned his attention to foreign countries, chiefly Holland and Germany. It was in accordance with the character of the king and his conception of state that he demanded not only a leading rôle for himself, but a ruling position also in Europe. As an introduction to a universal monarchy he sought to establish his supremacy in the Spanish Netherlands and Poland. From the former he unjustly claimed a part of territory for France, in the latter he strove to establish Frankish dominion in the East, through the election of a French prince. By this means he would deal a heavy blow to Spanish-Austrian hegemony and render himself very unwelcome to Brandenburg.

Suddenly, in 1667, he invaded Flanders, and occupied Franche-Comté in the following year. The Netherlands were menaced directly, and Burgundy was well lost for Germany. He won over the majority of German princes for himself, except those of the weakening Rhenish Confederacy, the electorates of Saxony and Bavaria, and he obtained permission for his army to march into Poland. He also equipped a fleet to sail for Danzig. By means of an alliance with the emperor and Spain, which was to be joined by England, Holland and the German princes, the elector,—who was greatly distressed because of the death of his wife, June 18, 1667,—hoped to repel the French onslaught. Yet the Netherlands negotiated with France, in the belief that they would obtain one-half of the Spanish Netherlands, but the attitude of Sweden and England remained uncertain. The emperor denounced the elector before the king of France, as being the only one who was forcing him into war, and the zeal of the German princes proved useless. It was impossible for the elector to protect the West, and he was more seriously menaced in the East. He regarded it as peculiarly important that he was highly esteemed at Paris, and France gave up her plans in Poland after he had promised to maintain strict neutrality.

Thus French influence in the East was brought to an end. In the West, the Triple Alliance was

formed by Holland, England and Sweden, in order to maintain Spanish rule in Flanders and Brabant. That alliance concluded the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (May 1668), according to which Spain retained Franche-Comté, while all the strongholds which France claimed were granted to her, and all the privileges were recognized upon which Louis had based those claims.

This had been done secretly by the emperor and for reasons that were remote from the interests of Germany. Upon the Spanish throne sat Charles II, a sickly boy with whose early death the Spanish strain of the Hapsburgs seemed to die out. The entire inheritance would go to the younger sister of Charles, the wife of Emperor Leopold, whereas Louis as husband of Charles's older sister also claimed it, although his wife had expressly renounced all her rights, and France had solemnly declared in the Pyrenean Treaty that she would never claim the Spanish throne. In reality that question was settled much later, but the possibility that it might assume practical importance at any moment markedly influenced the general political situation.

The emperor believed the time had come for concluding a provisory treaty with France (January 19, 1668), which greatly increased Austria's power in the empire. At the same time, he strove to obtain, like France, a leading position in the East. He in-

duced the elector to assist the palsgrave of Neuburg in his attempt to be elected king of Poland, and labored in behalf of the prince of Lorraine, assisted by the Jesuits. The latter's method served to vex deeply the elector, and finally the latter told the imperial envoy he "would permit himself to be cheated once, but only once." During the wild struggles of the Polish partisans the most moderate decided in favor of the elector himself or the electoral prince. Many times he had been asked to accept the election, but always refused it, for he was German and Protestant, and not inclined to make his provinces a part of that decayed Slavic state.

Although neither the French nor the Austrian candidate, nor the palsgrave of Neuburg, had been elected king of Poland, Austria knew how to secure her power in the East by wedding an archduchess to the elected *piast* (Polish nobleman). The question became more delicate as to whether France or Austria would become the dominating power in Europe, and in the course of that struggle Germany was, according to Leibnitz, "the Apple of Discord, the ball which they threw at each other, they who gambled for the monarchy, and the arena wherein it was wrestled for the championship in Europe."

In this war Brandenburg stood alone. For of the members of the Triple Alliance,—the two sea-powers and Sweden,—the latter was hostile to the

elector. The anti-Orange party in Holland vexed him in every way possible, and as it had checked his enterprises during the Norse War, it kept on harassing him by occupying the fortifications of Cleves, by the Geldern question, and many others. Ever after he began to rule he sought a more intimate relation with the emperor, and it was he to whom Austria owed the last two imperial elections, and who had led the imperial army to victory in Jutland and Pomerania. Aside from the fact that the emperor had deprived him of the latter in the Treaty of Oliva and Sweden had exasperated him, the elector had renewed the treaty, believing he had found in the Polish election the road over which he could travel with the sovereign. In this, too, he had been deceived, and now Poland's power increased. The princes of the empire did not seem willing to assist him. There were several among them who entered into alliances with each other against the supremacy of Austria and France, and it was at that time that Leibnitz drew up his grand scheme for the safety of the empire. But those alliances proved of no practical value.

It now became important for France once more to seek an alliance with Brandenburg, and to promise to the elector the forts of Cleves, which Holland wished to retain and which were of military value for the Rhenish provinces. She also promised the elector to assist him in reconquering Jägernsdorf,

provided the Spanish succession should be settled and the Spanish Netherlands go to France. Brandenburg had grown sufficiently important for the powers to struggle over, but these contentions were the greatest danger to her existence. The only hand that had offered itself could not be rejected, no matter how much it was feared or how intensely disliked.

And now it was prepared to strike. First its blow was aimed at Holland, but the alliance which Louis demanded from Frederick William and the neutrality which he asked for were flatly refused by the elector.

Despite all vexations by the powerful gentlemen of The Hague, who neglected their army because they hated the young lord of Orange, thinking of no danger and preventing a union of the Westphalia Confederacy which could protect them,—despite all this, he remained there. His position naturally brought Sweden into closer contact with France, and induced the king of England to persecute the Protestant faith and dissolve the parliament in that country. England was won over by Louis and Sweden resumed her alliance with France; thus was the Triple Alliance of the powers against Louis brought to an end.

In August, 1670, Louis conquered Lorraine by a swift drive and united Alsace with France. He marched against the General States with a vast

army, by way of the archbishopric of Cologne. The powerful lords at The Hague recognized that Louis's mobilization of which all the newspapers were full was directed against them, and neither their obedience nor the mediations of Brandenburg would induce Louis to change his plans. The anti-Orange party,—that of the De Witt brothers,—had made use of the period of their reign to render their country defenseless against an attack on land. They now sent a representative, Herr von Amerongen, to Berlin to negotiate regarding assistance, but on such offensive conditions that the utmost wisdom of the elector and the whole nobility of his nature were needed to reach a conclusion after yielding everything (January, 1672).

There was also a French representative at Berlin who negotiated concerning neutrality, offering more favorable conditions regarding the forts of Cleves in case of actual aid. There was still a party in Holland which hoped to make peace with Louis, a fact that showed clearly the magnanimity of the elector's decision; if peace were made between Holland and Louis, the latter's whole wrath would fall upon Frederick William. But although the danger of a war with France was great, a still greater peril would arise after the overthrow of Holland by France. The frivolity of Louis and his supremacy had won among many princes in the empire, and the elector foresaw attacks upon his

country in the assault upon Holland. However, he endeavored to impress upon the German princes that they should "remember what the Fatherland demanded from them," but there was no German prince who was willing to join him, and Cologne and Münster had already made common cause with the king. "The Frenchman," so he wrote, "orders the death horns to be blown: the Frenchman announces freedom's last day of the Netherlands and the whole of Europe." Yet, "the imperial princes had eyes that saw not, partly blinded by the beams of gold, partly frightened by Gorgones when beholding the Frenchman, and were mute as though they had been turned to stone, after wielding their swords and raising their heads in defiance."

The prince of Anhalt, whom the elector had sent to Vienna to mediate with the emperor in behalf of Germany, sought to bring about an alliance. This was concluded through the personal intervention of the emperor and the Spanish ambassador, and notwithstanding the neutrality treaty which had been entered into by France and the emperor on November 1, 1671. It was not in vain that Lisola, the imperial envoy to The Hague, had always called attention to the fact that France would conquer all the Rhenish provinces and obtain the imperial crown, and that the emperor would not dare enter into an agreement with Holland before Branden-

burg had come to the latter's assistance. Not until he had assured himself of the aid of Brandenburg, did the emperor order that the treaty with Holland should be concluded.

Meanwhile Louis had invaded Cleves and Holland, occupied one fortress after another because of treachery and cowardice, and overthrown the whole power of the Dutch, who sought to make peace at any price without notifying their Brandenburg ally of their attempts. They neither assisted the elector nor did they induce Spain, Denmark, and Brunswick to declare war as they had promised to do. Even the sorely needed alliance between Holland and the emperor was brought about toward the close of the year despite the diplomacy of Lisola. Nevertheless the elector concentrated his troops near Halberstadt, and in the beginning of September the imperial general Montecuccoli appeared with only one-half of the imperial forces that had been promised. Since a direct drive against Holland and operations with the troops of the prince of Orange were no longer possible, it was decided to divert a part of the French army from Holland and to encourage Spain to attack France.

Louis was compelled to dispatch his ablest general, Turenne, against the allies and thus Holland was enabled to rally for her own defense. The De Witt brothers had been heinously murdered by the people and the prince of Orange had assumed a

leading position, but all efforts of the elector to induce the imperial general to carry on the war more energetically were in vain. He refused to attack Turenne openly, and it was rumored that the emperor had promised not to begin hostilities against France. Disregarding the invasion of Cleves and the county of March by Louis, it was asserted that France had not attacked the empire nor violated the Westphalian Treaty, and that there was no reason for moving against her. Neither Trier nor Mainz nor Frankfort would permit the use of the bridge constructed of ships across the Rhine, and the electorate of Mainz could refer for justification to direct imperial orders.

A battle which the elector and the imperial general offered Marshal Turenne at Soest was not fought. Moreover, the elector was in danger of being surrounded by Turenne and the troops of Münster and was compelled to retreat. Because of his secret treaty with France the emperor could not and would not attack her unless he staked that which had been promised him. Turenne knew early in February that the imperial army had left the elector in the lurch. The Dutch could not be induced to undertake anything of importance, nor to fulfill what they had promised to the elector for giving them military aid. His Rhenish provinces yearned for peace, the others were not able to bring more sacrifices, the Polish peril was imminent since

that diet had refused to conclude peace with the Turks, and Sweden—which the emperor wished to join on account of the Turks—demanded several cities in Prussia, including Elbing, Thorn and Marienburg. The emperor also negotiated with Münster and the elector became fully aware that he did not accept the alliance with Brandenburg seriously, and had promised France not to proceed against her. Cologne and Münster expected to acquire Brandenburg territory, the electorate of Saxony waited for Brandenburg's defeat; and Sweden was prepared to attack Pomerania or Bremen. Finally, the General States broke off negotiations with France and hoped they could make peace at any moment. France, still willing to please the elector, demanded that the latter should stop aiding the General States.

The elector was compelled to accept that offer or be overthrown entirely. Neither the emperor in whom he had lost all confidence, nor Holland which had violated the treaty, prevented him from acting honestly regarding both powers. He notified Vienna and The Hague that he was willing to negotiate with France, and concluded the Treaty of Vossem in June, 1673, for Cologne and Münster, on a basis laid down by France, which had offered the elector the forts of Cleves with the exception of Wesel, Rees, and Schenkenschauz.

Many had resisted the elector, who was forced

to retreat because no one sided with him and because all had deserted him in the time of distress. Now, since Brandenburg was no longer willing to draw somebody else's chestnuts from the fire, and since Turenne conveniently proceeded along the Main, invading Franconia and Hesse, and severely punishing both inhabitants and princes, and since a second French army entered the Palatinate, the grave danger with which Louis had threatened the empire became apparent. At last it was determined to proceed seriously, since Spain, too, was ready to attack France.

The ferocious cruelties of France in the empire, the frightful devastation of the Palatinate, the exasperating haughtiness of Louis toward the emperor and the German princes, once more roused a national feeling which found expression in passionate pamphlets and in recognition of the valor of the elector. After the latter had been able to bring about a coalition between the emperor, Spain and Holland, and the princes had displayed a willingness to proceed against the "foe of the empire," as Louis XVI was called, and after England had consented to make peace with Holland, they could count upon success. For since France had attacked the empire in a manner without precedent, they were assured of the aid of Brandenburg. The emperor remained inactive, but the prince of Orange well knew to what extent the issue depended upon

the elector, and repeatedly asked him for help, on the ground that they were as inseparably united as heaven and earth. Not until Turenne had again defeated the German army near Linzheim, after having suffered considerable losses by Montecuccoli in 1673, was Vienna willing to enter into an agreement with the elector, who magnamimously set aside all hatred and distrust and promised to aid them (July 1st, 1674), on condition that he should be given military assistance if his own territory was attacked. Louis immediately called all his men to the colors.

With the utmost haste the elector mobilized his army, and appeared on the battlefield with more than 20,000 men. But the expedition—unbelievable though it may sound—was weaker and more ineffective than the previous one; every enterprise and scheme were spoiled by the Austrian General Bournonville. Even his officers spoke with open contempt of the pitiful leadership, and the suspicion of treachery which the elector and most of the soldiers held, cannot be rejected. The Brandenburg troops were taken into Alsace instead of the Netherlands, where the allies were defeated decisively near Seneffe in a bloody battle, and the elector was denied the leadership that had been promised him.

At Marlenheim, near Strasburg, 50,000 men fought against 20,000 under Turenne, but the ur-

gent advice of the elector and Derfflinger to attack and overthrow Turenne was ridiculed. An Austrian general declared that by means of Brandenburg troops, not only the French but the devil in hades could be assailed successfully. Still they kept on digging trenches while Turenne escaped.

In addition to the elector's indignation over the miserable leadership, he was distressed because of the loss of the electoral prince Carl Emil, whose brilliant gifts furnished him and his country with joyous hopes. The elector believed the prince was poisoned (December 7, 1674).

Hagenau and Belfort should have been taken, but the imperial general refused to participate. Turenne could obtain reënforcements and inflict one defeat after another upon his opponent, who never did what was demanded of him. Finally, after the battle at Türkheim, Bournonville secretly withdrew, and in the middle of the night the elector's forces were also compelled to retreat, escape being cut off.

The expedition was an utter failure, since the prince of Orange had also fought unsuccessfully and the Spanish were compelled to send their troops to Sicily. Worst of all was the diplomatic triumph of Feuquières, the French ambassador to Sweden, who succeeded in inducing the latter to invade the March. Although the elector had entered into an agreement with Sweden for mutual

defense, he none the less feared such a step on her part. All his warnings, however, were disregarded at Vienna. Even after Wrangel had invaded the March with 15,000 men, toward the end of 1674, it was neither intended to aid the elector nor to permit the Brandenburg troops to withdraw in order to defend their country.

Although Sweden acted generously in order to induce Brandenburg to make peace with France, her real intention was obvious, since Hanover and Bavaria were allies, and since Münster negotiated with her and the electorate of Saxony refused any assistance.

In addition to this, John Sobiesky, king of Poland, was persuaded by France to invade Prussia. The elector endeavored to obtain the assistance of the allies, but received nothing except favorable words and hopeful decisions, either at the diet, in Denmark, or at Vienna, or even from the prince of Orange, while help from Spain and Holland wholly ceased.

The Netherlands feared for their commerce and the mobilization of Sweden. At Copenhagen it was demanded that Holland and the emperor should lead the others, and the latter made his decision depend upon Denmark after a military expedition with William of Orange had been arranged. It was feared at Vienna that the elector might grow too powerful, for no one doubted that Pomerania must

be reconquered from the Swedes. This made it all the more necessary for him to mobilize and prepare himself for the combat.

It was of special moment that the elector should carry out the plans which had strongly occupied his mind. He attempted to meet the enemy on the sea. In February, 1675, he issued the first letter regarding the seizure of ships and soon afterward made an agreement with the bailiff of Middelburg, Benjamin Raule, according to which the latter had to command the first three Brandenburg ships. Amsterdam had to furnish three more and a maritime regiment was provided.

The Swedes still advanced, committing deeds as shameful as those that marked the Thirty Years' War, although many leaders attempted to maintain strict discipline. Near Stettin the invaders crossed the Oder and approached Berlin, holding the most important passes across the Havel. The passage of the Elbe was imminent, as were the alliance with Hanover and the attack upon Magdeburg, and neither the prince of Anhalt, the governor of the Marches, nor the citizens and peasants, could resist successfully. The voluntary act of the people clearly showed their patriotism, and the inscription upon the banner of the peasants of the Old March stirred one's blood:

> "We peasants of insignificant good
> Serve our gracious elector and lord with our blood."

In May the elector and his army started from the Main and carried through that wonderfully quick drive which brought them to Magdeburg by June 20. On the morning of the 23rd he set out with his cavalry, consisting of 600 horsemen, and 1,300 men on foot, appearing before Rathenow, whose commander, Colonel von Wangelin, knew nothing of the elector's arrival. He opened the attack on the 25th, his infantry stormed the gate of the city and that of the Mill (*the Muhlentor*), while the cavalry under Derfflinger entered the town through the Havel Gate.

The attack was a complete success, the Swedish line was broken and the arranged crossing of the Elbe made impossible. On the 27th the cavalry overtook the rear troops of General Wrangel, who strove to unite with his brother, the field marshal. On June 28, the prince of Homburg, with his 1,500 to 2,000 horsemen, overtook the Swedes near Fehrbellin and compelled Wrangel to retreat to Hachenburg.

Protected by their cavalry, the Brandenburgers set up their few cannon. They were attacked by the Swedish infantry and cavalry, who were forced to retreat after a hot fight. Thus the guns were saved. The infantry had not arrived and the elector himself led the assaults. "Like two blazing comets seemed his eyes" in the midst of the fight. He and the seventy-year-old Derfflinger were de-

termined to conquer or gloriously perish together with their soldiers. The elector's equerry, Emanuel of Froben, fell fatally wounded by a Swedish bullet. Finally the enemy retreated to Fehrbellin, seeking to escape on the following day. Several skirmishes followed, but the Swedes continued to retreat until the whole March was cleared.

Such a military feat was accomplished by only a few of the greatest generals. With only about 6,000 horsemen and without any infantry, double the number of Swedes, who were believed to be invincible, were defeated decisively and their alliance with the people of Hanover was made impossible.

At this time an Alsatian popular song magnified the elector as "the Great." The German people had at last found the hero through whose genius they could rise again and out of whose power throve the hope of a new magnificence for the German Fatherland.

But it was a national success of the greatest importance; a staggering blow at the alien rule of the Swedes, and also affected the French, for it was hoped that their haughtiness would be punished, since their country would no longer reckon with Sweden if the latter was expelled from German soil.

The Swedes retreated to Mecklenburg, and their defeat greatly encouraged their other enemies.

Now the allies began to act. Denmark entered into an agreement with Brandenburg, and held a war council with the elector at Gadebusch. Hanover was forced to maintain neutrality, and several imperial and Saxon regiments appeared.

The diet proclaimed the imperial war and promised the elector "full satisfaction." Brandenburg, Brunswick and Münster regiments made difficulties for the Swedes in the district of Bremen, which were increased through the appearance of Brandenburg ships at the mouth of the Weser. The elector hastened to Pomerania, captured Wollin and Wolgast, and though the siege of Stettin had to be postponed, both Sweden and France were willing to make peace after the conquering of Trier. Even the imperial court was now convinced of the necessity of expelling the Swedes, and despite wretched financial conditions the elector obtained the means for another military expedition and the manning of several ships. He hoped that God would bless his arms, and that he would occupy the whole of Pomerania. To do this, however, depended chiefly upon the capture of Stettin, which would cause enormous toil and trouble.

The attempts of the Swedish general Königsmark to reconquer Wolgast failed, a Danish-Dutch fleet defeated the Swedes near Bornholm in June, 1676, and the elector occupied the Pennemünd Trench, Anklam, Löchnitz, and Damm. Thus

Stettin was surrounded, but the real siege had to be deferred till the following year, for an invasion by Poland, which had made peace with Turkey, seemed imminent. Moreover, it became more obvious that neither the emperor nor the allies were willing to leave Pomerania to the elector in the time of peace, in behalf of which a meeting had been called to Nymwegen. The popularity of the prince of Orange, upon whose personality the treaty with Holland was based, was greatly impaired because of his unhappy military enterprises.

On the upper Rhine the allies suffered only losses, and even Freiburg was taken by the French. The General States, the emperor, and England demanded peace before the elector could take Stettin. Yet after the conquest of the latter, the emperor could make more weighty demands, and therefore avoided a premature peace. The conquests in Pomerania were the only substitute for the losses in pain.

The elector was not able to proceed with full strength against Stettin before the month of September, and the city resisted valiantly until the close of December. Finally it was forced to capitulate, and on the 6th of January, 1678, the elector entered Stettin. The citizens were surprised to meet with Brandenburg "gracious friendliness, accompanied by brave magnanimity," instead of the tyrannical demeanor of which they had

been told: the chivalrous manner of the elector conquered the hearts of all citizens.

Naturally the allies were delighted with the brilliant military exploit of the elector, but they were not willing to grant him all the fruits of his victory, although none of them, except Denmark, had given him real help. "The emperor does not like to see a new king of Vandals rise on the shores of the Baltic," it was said at the court of Vienna, which voiced the opinion of many German princely courts, and most humbly they begged Louis XIV for peace. They were willing to grant the first demands of France, namely, to lead Pomerania to Sweden. Even the prince of Orange, betrothed to a daughter of Charles II of England, negotiated with that country for peace without even notifying the elector. He, upon whom the latter had relied, consented to the cession of all conquered territory to Sweden (July, 1678). The elector was anxious to perform new military feats, and especially desired that the fleet should render valuable service.

Rügen, which the Swedes had taken from the Danes during the siege of Stettin, was reconquered in September, 1678, and Stralsund and Griefswald were forced to capitulate. The whole of Pomerania was freed from the Swedes and the ever rising military glory of the elector and his army became the tie which bound together all provinces of the rising state. The strategy of the elector and the

success of his army were greeted everywhere with joy, because of their importance in the unification of the various provinces.

The loyalty of the allies did not correspond with the extraordinary efforts and the magnificent successes of the elector. In Spain and Holland the peace parties had the upper hand, since France had maintained her supremacy after the withdrawal of the Brandenburg army. Although Frederick William had once more sent 6,000 men under General Spaen to the Rhine, and although he had been promised that peace would not be concluded without him, Spain and Holland came to terms with France at Nymwegen in September, 1678, according to which Holland lost nothing, but consented to the return of all Sweden's losses.

What could be of greater value to Louis XIV than the humiliation which he intended to inflict upon the elector through a Swedish invasion, after he had been freed from two enemies? His finances mobilized Sweden anew, and while the latter invaded Brandenburg with all her strength, and she could reckon upon Polish assistance, Louis's advance into the Rhenish provinces of Brandenburg made it seem certain that the elector would be utterly destroyed. He notified Vienna that he would be willing to undertake an expedition against France, and to send from 10,000 to 12,000 more men to the Rhine, besides 6,000 under General

Sparn. It would be easy to equip an army of 80,000 men against France, especially since Sweden had been so deeply humiliated. Vienna, however, feared lest the elector should secure the price of victory, and flagrantly disregarding the promise to assist the elector if his territory should be attacked, it was said, "the Imperial Majesty was not obliged to continue the war in order to render others famous." None the less, the dignity and the glory of the elector increased, for the Swedish invasion was followed by that superb winter expedition into Prussia, and the amazing expulsion of the Swedes from all their positions, across the frozen Haff.

Despite illness the elector again led his troops and, aided by generals like Derfflinger, Görtzke, Hennings of Treffenfeld, and Schöning, he not only marched a hundred miles in twelve weeks, despite the bitterly cold weather, but drove the enemy from the country "within two days" and annihilated the hostile forces. Thus did the Swedes see their laurels fade before the military splendor of the elector. Barely 3,000 of the 18,000 Swedes returned to Livonia.

Suddenly the elector was notified, at Königsberg toward the end of February, that the emperor had made peace with Louis and had promised to return Pomerania to Sweden.

The news was true. Once more the emperor sacrificed the German coasts, at a time when Branden-

burg had conquered them with the greatest difficulty, and when German interests demanded more than ever that there should be created a power which could be used against France. But because of the jealousy of Brandenburg the most disgraceful conditions and shameful concessions were accepted regardless of the fact that a comparatively large imperial army was fighting against Louis, and after the defeat of Sweden, both Denmark and Brandenburg were able to hold their ground against France. Even the emperor was helpless when congratulated because of that peace which reëstablished Sweden's position in the empire, and made France the mistress in Alsace, leaving to her an open road to Germany. The empire accepted peace, the emperor signed it, and Louis marched toward the Weser against the chief enemy, declaring he would advance to Berlin by way of Minden, Halberstadt, and Magdeburg. Hanover did not permit the elector to pass through her territory, in order that he might be able to protect Cleves.

Thus Frederick William was forced to yield to the king. He sought to save Stettin, but his efforts were in vain, and a foolhardy, thoughtless procedure would not have become the elector. "For not only those sin who begin an unjust war," he wrote later, "but also those who take up arms without any hope of success, without serious preparations and calculations as to the heavy sacrifices

war demands." According to the Treaty of St. Germain in Laye, June 29, 1679, he ceded all of Pomerania, all fruits of a toilsome struggle, to Sweden. "All of Germany was amazed at the defeated who retained everything, and at the victor who retained only disgrace," wrote the imperial historiographer. The elector, however, said that it was not the king of France who forced him to make peace but the empire, the emperor, his relations and allies; the day would dawn when they would regret to have forced him into peace, and their loss would be greater than his. Thus, declared Frederick William, whose desire, however, was, as he wrote to the Dutch, that the Lord might henceforth save their state from all misfortune and hostile attacks, in order that they might not grow aware of what it meant to forsake faithful friends.

The Peace of Nymwegen had deprived him of the basis of his policy; every hope of representing the interests of the German empire together with the emperor, and of saving Europe's freedom against French tyranny in conjunction with his allies, was utterly destroyed. He had to save himself if he could, and when depressed because he was born in Germany, where he saw nothing but injustice, he had to learn how to serve and to save his state.

CHAPTER III

THE LAST DECADE. 1679-1688

INDIGNATION and wrath, reluctance and envy are said to have influenced the elector's policy after the Treaties of Nymwegen and St. Germain. It was resentment over the treachery that caused him to forsake the emperor and to seek alliance with France. Yet the change was not wholly true. Naturally the elector's spirit was deeply stirred when he recalled how his allies had failed to keep their promises to defend him, to give him "satisfaction," and not to make peace without him. Of course, he had grounds to accuse them of infidelity, and he did not conceal his profound anger. Still he did not permit his passion to influence his policy; with the utmost wisdom, the most careful consideration, he guided the ship of state. To carry on an energetic German policy, or to unsheathe the sword in behalf of the emperor and the empire, was made impossible for him.

After all the disastrous expeditions and the wretched conduct of the war, it was evident that none of the allies was able to stand up against France. Always left in the lurch, the elector might

have lived in utter blindness and been compelled to stake everything with no prospect of success, had he reposed confidence in them. In his foolhardiness he would have dug a grave for himself and his state. And when forsaken by his natural allies, oppressed by Sweden and Poland, surrounded by the avarice and distrust of the neighboring German princes, and in that desolate and exposed situation all powers of the state were exhausted and because absolutely necessary to find a support somewhere, it could be obtained only from him against whom the war had been fought, and upon whom loss after loss had been inflicted.

Not only the Swedes but all the other allies hastened to anticipate the elector and bring about a treaty with France, which should be directed against him. And since he knew that the head of the empire, the emperor, had not feared to enter into an agreement with his worst enemy, the Swedes, it could not fail to be clear to him that such an agreement would destroy him utterly.

What could he desire except the safety of his own state? For although the others were hostile to him, their efforts in behalf of his destruction depended upon the lord who seemed to control the fate of Europe, and who had sufficient grounds to hate the elector, yet was the only person whose good will saved Frederick William. How was it pos-

sible to overcome his hatred of the king and forget the distrust he placed in him?

There was only one concession which was of value to Louis, namely, the imperial crown, and for that he strove with all the energy of his nature. On October 25, 1679, the elector entered into an agreement with King Louis, and promised to assist him in obtaining the imperial crown. The elector secured financial assistance, and his claims upon Jägerndorf were recognized. Louis accepted the treaty, being glad because he had succeeded in winning over his most dangerous and powerful enemy.

Frederick William obtained what was of the utmost importance to him,—peace and the possibility of healing the wounds which the wars had inflicted upon his country, and of once more strengthening himself, since it had become possible to throw off the rule of the French. It was also of decisive importance that a close alliance between Sweden and France should be frustrated, and that Frederick William should no longer dread the Swedish and Polish peril. As an ally of France, he could hope to gain power and again tame Louis's haughtiness.

It soon became clear how Louis misunderstood the vague decisions of the Treaty of Nymwegen, and how deep his indignation was regarding Germany. He did not content himself with the occupation of Alsace and Lorraine, and with the fortifica-

tion of Schlettstadt and Colmar, but he established "Chambers of Rectification" (Reunions), which should ascertain all the territories that had once belonged to those parts of the empire which had been ceded to France, and which the latter was entitled to occupy. The spirit of the elector was highly aroused because of the violations of the empire by Louis, but he could do nothing except to negotiate with the latter, unless he wished to stake the existence of Germany and himself. He refused to join the "Association" which the prince of Orange had planned, because of the hopelessness of a vigorous enforcement of the treaty, and Sweden, moreover, belonged to those who took part in it. Suspected by Louis XIV and his envoy to Berlin, Rébénac, he had to conclude a defensive treaty with France, whose demands clearly showed how much Louis esteemed the alliance with the elector, and how deeply he was vexed by the recognition of the Treaty of Nymwegen and the Reunions.

Nevertheless, Louis permitted the elector to build new ships, to seize a richly laden Spanish vessel near Ostend in order to exact the taxes which the Spaniards had defiantly refused to pay, and to dispatch two ships, the "Escutcheon of Brandenburg" and the "Morian," to Guinea to establish commercial relations there. Louis also permitted the elector to organize an African commercial asso-

ciation in 1682 to further commerce and industry, and finally to gain power and importance at the mouths of the Ems, summoned thither by the East Frisian classes. He paid most attention to the harbors of Upper Pomerania and Prussia, after having been deprived of the Lower Pomeranian harbors of Pillau, Königsberg and Colberg. At Königsberg and Colberg, as well as Berlin, new commerce centers were established and everything was undertaken to facilitate navigation, to render the commerce independent of foreign countries, and to let it be benefited by navigation. He attempted also to secure a water communication by means of the rivers Rega and Drage, between the New March and the Baltic. Just as the older canal had guided the commerce of Breslau to the North Sea through the Brandenburg provinces, it now opened its way to the Baltic.

The elector had not lost his belief in his state, and he now began to carry out some of the plans of his youth. Notwithstanding his humiliation in Europe, he sought to utilize the non-European world, and to acquire dignity in the countries which lay beyond the oceans. His fleet, therefore, which comprised thirty ships in 1681, was not only to render military aid, but also to establish colonies in foreign continents.

The African Commercial Association was removed to Emden, because the Baltic and the harbors

of Prussia and Lower Pomerania were irritated by Sweden and Denmark. As early as 1650, he bought Tranquebar upon Coromandel from the Danes, and now he carried out a magnificent colonization at Cape Trespuntes, the Cape with the Three Peaks. In 1681 he entered into an agreement with several negro chiefs, according to which Brandenburg obtained a piece of territory on the Gold Coast. In the summer of 1682 two new ships, the "Churprintz" and the "Morian," left Glückstadt, the city of Grossfriedrichsburg was founded in Guinea, Taccrama and Taccarary were fortified, and Castle Arguin erected south of Cape St. Blanco.

The Brandenburgers were much annoyed by the Dutch and the French, but were able to maintain themselves. Arguin became the main station for Guinea, which brought vast profits to Brandenburg, especially since the negroes placed more confidence in them than in the French or Dutch. The elector intended also to found a colony on the Isle of St. Thomas in America, the East Indian Association, and to send an expedition to China and Japan: they were grand plans for those times, and similar ones had never been attempted by any other German prince. They were of the greatest value to Brandenburg, for the wealth of the state, in short for the commerce of the German merchants.

It is curious to observe that the envy and enmity

of other sea powers because of the expanding fleet of Brandenburg was less than the hatred of Louis, who would have done anything to check the schemes of the elector. His violations of the empire grew more shameless, and even Strasburg, "the beautiful *propugnaculum* of the empire," was taken possession of by him. A deputation gathered at Frankfort to negotiate with Louis regarding the establishment of the border lines and the exact interpretation of the Peace of Nymwegen accomplished nothing but to raise feuds and vain protests; and the edicts and decisions of the imperial diets did not annoy the king in the least (1682). The sword was not unsheathed and the emperor carried on his former policy. The wise and careful conduct of Frederick William, however, induced Louis to enter into an agreement with him, according to which the king should discontinue his method of obtaining territory by force, on condition that the elector should not join any alliance that would be formed against him. This showed the dignity and honor which the elector enjoyed in Europe more clearly than anything else, and it was through that treaty that Germany was rendered secure. Without hesitation, Frederick William concluded the treaty in January, 1682.

How different were the actions of the elector from those of the emperor or the other German princes! It had to become obvious that it was of

the utmost importance for Germany that a state was being created, a power which could render protection in times of distress and peril. Naturally the elector was an ally of France, and many times he was accused on account of that alliance by those who a few years previously had hastened to make peace with France. But the blessings of that treaty did not go to France, which could have destroyed the last elector without the treaty, but to Germany. And even if the most urgent law of self-preservation had not justified the alliance with France, it certainly showed the intentions of him who had entered into it, and fully justified the elector,—a fact which to this very day is misunderstood by many.

At all other courts war against Louis was vehemently demanded, and most of all the emperor and the prince of Orange labored in behalf of a general attack upon France. Count Waldeck, now in the service of the prince of Orange, sought to influence the minor courts of Germany, with all the passion of his soul. Although the intentions of many must be considered noble, their execution was impossible. Therefore, the elector regarded the outbreak of a war against France as sinful, although he was firmly convinced that hostilities with Louis were certain to come.

True, Louis was building a coffin for the German nation, but the reckless policy of his enemies manu-

factured the nails for that coffin. Even according to the judgment of the prince of Orange, the alliance against Louis depended chiefly upon England; but her king, Charles II, had been won over by Louis through large sums of gold, and was not willing to make war against France. Furthermore, England and the General States were, because of their financial stress and internal feuds, unable to proceed against France. Spain was forced tacitly to tolerate all the cruelties of Louis XIV. Several of the German princes under the leadership of Count Waldeck concluded the Luxemburg Treaty with the emperor, but it remained doubtful whether they would be able to equip the army which they had promised, and the emperor himself would be unable to carry on war more energetically than before. Everybody knew that his forces were needed somewhere else.

The Turkish peril steadily drew nearer, and following 1680 all knew that those people would invade Germany with a larger army than ever before. It was wholly impossible to resist them and to fight France at the same time. Because of the insignificant military forces of the emperor the war with the Turks would be of vital importance and it presaged certain victory for the crescent. What would happen if Louis availed himself of the helpless situation of the emperor and invaded the empire once more? Assailed in the West, in the North, and in

the South, it must collapse most miserably. Nevertheless, there were some who desired to drag Germany into that pit of calamity.

With the most eloquent words the elector explained, in the famous *Magdeburg Votum*, the situation everywhere in the empire and chiefly at Magdeburg. He referred to the doctor who deserves praise when he cuts off the diseased part of the human body in order to save the life of the patient. He urgently demanded that an alliance should be made with Louis, for it was more profitable to cede to him what he already possessed, and which he could reconquer at any time, than to abandon the whole Fatherland. This danger was so clear to all that the entire College of Electors, excepting Bavaria and the majority of princes, recognized the necessity of making final peace with Louis XIV.

Frederick William tried to persuade Vienna to enter into an agreement with Louis, who was the only one that could bring to an end the Reunions of France, and moreover, it was wholly impossible to attack simultaneously two thoroughly equipped enemies such as the French and the Turks. After peace was agreed upon with France and the western frontier was protected, he would be glad to assist the emperor in combating the Turks. With regard to the Jägerndorf affair, he would not make any arrangements in order to enable the emperor to

resist the Mohammedans. From everywhere, even from the holy see, the court of Vienna was asked to settle with France, and to develop to the utmost the ability to oppose Turks. The grave peril was recognized by Vienna and admitted to the Brandenburg envoy, but other matters had to be considered. The great question regarding the Spanish succession drew near, and Austria did everything possible to please the sick King Charles of Spain, in order to tempt him to bequeath his inheritance to Austria, but King Charles, greatly angered with France and not being sufficiently strong to fight her, demanded that Austria should do so. As a consequence, the emperor was forced to undertake the conflict with Turkey and France, hoping that the empire, Brandenburg, and other powers would also be dragged into war and would not let Austria be destroyed.

Germany was swept into the maelstrom and had to expect horrible devastation. But the domestic interests of the Hapsburgs were not concerned, for the emperor could not possibly "abandon his patrimonium and that of his heir." Although the hope of resisting the Turks was very slight, they rejected the aid of Frederick William because he made his assistance depend upon an alliance with France, which was necessary for his own interests as well as for those of Germany.

Even if such an alliance had been brought

about, the offers of the elector made regarding the safety of the empire remained remarkably magnanimous; for he not only disregarded every thought of taking vengeance for the treachery of 1679, but he knew that worse things were to be expected. The Spanish envoy to Vienna openly told the Brandenburg ambassador that Poland, Sweden and Brunswick would invade Brandenburg as allies of the emperor, as soon as the troops of the elector set out toward the southeast in behalf of emperor and state.

Differences between Denmark, an ally of France, and Sweden, united with the Welf dukes, had reached such a state that a conflict seemed inevitable. This would not only affect Brandenburg but would induce France once more to declare war upon Germany. Nevertheless, the emperor rejected an armistice for twenty or thirty years, although the three colleges of the imperial diet accepted the proposal. Spain, too, refused to receive aid from England against France.

Meanwhile Vienna reckoned with "the well-known generous sentiments of the elector concerning the deliverance of the Fatherland." By means of the most difficult combinations he conjured up war in the North, which might have induced him to fight anew in behalf of Pomerania. He persuaded Louis to make new propositions to the emperor and the state. The

elector himself mobilized his army which, numbering about 30,000 men, celebrated because of previous victories over the Swedes, inducing the king, who feared the elector might be able to throw off the foreign yoke, to leave the empire alone during the Turkish peril. The emperor was compelled to defend himself against the invaders without the aid of anyone. He not only did so, but was successful. Vienna valiantly fought the overwhelmingly superior army of the enemy. On September 12, 1683, the siege was raised and the Turks were defeated. Gran was taken by John Sobieski, among whose troops were 1,200 Brandenburgers sent by the elector.

Vienna and Spain grew more confident. The latter declared war upon France, and the emperor labored diligently to the same end. In September, Louis invaded Brabant, occupied the fortresses, captured Luxemburg, compelled Genoa to surrender, marched against Trier and Cologne by way of Alsace, and equipped new regiments. Holland did nothing,—clear proof of the inefficiency of the plans of the prince of Orange and Count Waldeck.

Louis's ambassadors now demanded that monarch and empire should conclude an armistice. And before the uplifted swords of Louis all patriotic phrases were silenced. Even after the victory over the Mussulmans, it was impossible

to resist France and it was clear to all that the elector's counsel was the only thing that could bring safety. In August, 1684, the armistice was accepted by the emperor, the empire, and Spain.

Although it was sad and shameful to tolerate the violations by France even during the armistice the empire was at peace, and could begin to arm itself for the new war which Louis's haughty dominance made inevitable. First of all, the elector set out to organize the imperial army. The communality of the empire were to pay taxes, while the more powerful ones must equip serviceable armies. He again tried to negotiate with other powers, especially with the ever hostile Hanover and the always unreliable Netherlands. Relations with the former grew intimate, especially after the marriage of the elector with the Princess Sophie Charlotte. He also negotiated with Stockholm, and there, too, he was successful.

While these negotiations with Holland and Sweden succeeded, it was due to a shifting of the relation of the European states to each other. All Protestantism was greatly endangered by the papacy, which was successful everywhere, and thus a common Protestant sentiment gained once more the upper hand in those states. In France, where the people were

accustomed to embrace the religion of their ruler, Louis XIV proceeded very severely against the Huguenots. In Austria, the persecution of the Protestants became more violent after the victory over the Turks. In England, Charles II was succeeded by James II, who began to oppress the Protestants with ever increasing viciousness. A general reëstablishment of the Catholic Church seemed to take place, and its interests appeared to surpass those of the state. Nevertheless the worldly contrast between the two chief powers of Catholicism could not be forgotten so readily, and Louis ventured everything possible to force Austria to seek help from the Protestant powers, for the Reunions of villages, cities and entire provinces seemed like child's play compared with what Louis was about to do.

In the beginning of 1685 he made use of an illness of the king of Spain to claim the entire Spanish inheritance for his dauphin, and he took a similar advantage of the death of the elector of the Palatinate, demanding for France all territories which the electorate possessed on the left bank of the Rhine. Finally, he labored for the imperial election of his son, the dauphin, and to render the German crown subject to inheritance for his family.

All now clearly saw the universal monarchy

for which Louis had been striving. All states, all peoples, were imperiled. The elector was no longer bound by any treaty with France because of the renewed claims of Louis, which defied every law of the nations, and were contrary to all treaties. The latter had been destroyed by Louis, who was firmly convinced that the elector would make use of every opportunity to break asunder the fetters. In France they already laughed at a German empire, but they knew the elector would omit nothing in order to reëstablish it.

Louis greatly disliked the agreement with Holland, and was induced to make new demands to the elector. But the latter disregarded them, and Louis had to be content, for he still needed Brandenburg and sought to avoid an alliance between the latter and the emperor.

Despite all that had happened the elector wished to come in closer contact with the emperor from the beginning, for he was not concerned simply with his own provinces, which were protected by a French-Brandenburg alliance and would lose that protection in case of a treaty with the emperor. Frederick William knew that he must rely upon the sovereign, who in turn must rely upon him. Louis was the common enemy of both and the foe of the country, and if it was possible for the elector to

go hand in hand with the emperor in behalf of the empire, he would be highly pleased to do so.

Such a possibility had to rise out of Louis's claims upon the Spanish inheritance. For, since it would have been impossible for the elector to protect the empire without the means of the emperor, so the latter could not carry out his Spanish claims without Brandenburg, nor could he resist the Turks with whom war threatened.

Therefore Vienna had to forget her jealousy of "the new Kingdom of the Vandals," and recognize that nothing could be accomplished without the elector, and that the latter must be satisfied first of all. One of the most skillful mediators,—Baron Francis Henry Fridag of Gödens,—was sent to Berlin to ask for aid against the Moslem invaders, for the imperial armies and all their auxiliaries were in great peril; the land,—pillaged by friend and foe,—lay desolate, the people were unable to pay taxes and all depended upon the decision of the elector, upon whom the emperor relied.

At the same time the claims of Brandenburg were rejected, and the decision concerning them was postponed. But they had to invest the elector with Magdeburg, whose administrator, the duke of Saxony, had died in 1680. The demand for the Silesian duchies was rejected.

Besides Jägerndorf, which had frequently been promised to the elector, Liegnitz, Brieg and Wohlau, whose duke George William had died in December, 1675, were denied him. The elector had entered into an agreement with the latter, according to which Brandenburg should inherit Liegnitz, and *vice versa* in case of the extinction of one of the ruling families (in 1537). But Vienna would not admit this arrangement. The elector had often called attention to his claims in the year of the duke's death, and of the siege of Vienna by the Turks; but he did not make his assistance depend upon the settlement of that question, and in January, 1686, he promised Austria to send at least 7,000 men against the Turks. They were ready to set out in April, and marched under the leadership of Schöning to Hungary, where they won new laurels, particularly during the siege of Budapest.

A bold act of Louis's had induced the elector to conclude his treaty with Austria. Louis XIV had done a thing which roused the whole Protestant world, and accordingly Frederick William took a counterstep which kindled Louis's wrath. In October, 1685, the king repealed the Edict of Nantes which permitted Protestants to live in France. Every reform and religious service was prohibited, schools and churches were

closed, and those of the Reformed faith were forbidden to emigrate. Unity of the Church seemed to be necessary for the very existence of the state, contrary to the attitude of the Hohenzollerns, who saw in the freedom of religion the most fruitful roots of the state. The elector and all Protestant Christians were greatly offended because of the bold act of the French king, which far surpassed all previous persecutions of heretics. As the elector had exhorted the emperor to stop the dreadful persecutions of the Protestants in his hereditary lands and especially in Hungary, so he himself maintained his sense of piety and consistency against Louis's blind fanaticism. As early as November 8, he issued the Edict of Potsdam, in which he invited all refugees to come to Brandenburg, promising them advice and assistance on their journey and in their new home.

More than 1,500 refugees belonging to all classes and professions, most of them poor, but steadfast and sturdy characters, accepted the call of the elector. They were very cordially received and thankfully adopted the new conditions. Their loyalty was steadfast and their industry dissipated all the apprehensions that had been felt over their coming to Brandenburg. Within a short time they became thorough Brandenburgers.

Frankfort and Berlin also did a great deal for the development of industry. In Berlin, the capital of the state, Dorotheenstadt was founded and given the name of the elector's wife. It extended from the Garden of Pleasure to the Zoo. The number of inhabitants, about 6,000 in 1620, increased to 20,000. Of far-reaching importance regarding economical conditions were the manufacturing concerns introduced by the French. The weaving of wool and manufacturing of cloth, silk and half silk were especially encouraged and financially aided by the elector. The manufacture of glass and mirrors was much furthered, particularly in the provinces.

To acquiesce with Louis as respected the Edict of Potsdam was very difficult for the elector. That the latter valued his own interest less than the European and especially the German ones was obvious from the negotiations with Austria regarding assistance against the Turks, which led to the secret defensive-treaty of March 22, 1686. The elector obtained the small district of Schwiebus and was promised several insignificant concessions, for which he renounced all demands upon the Silesian principalities of Jägerndorf, Liegnitz, Brieg, and Wohlau, and promised to vote for Austria at the next imperial election and to aid her with 8,000 troops in the war to secure her Spanish

claims. Peace with the Turks seemed at hand and the time had come to settle with France.

In the struggles with the Turks, Austria had trained a reliable army, and the majority of the imperial princes also joined the Augsburg Treaty. Because of Louis's cruelty the supporters of the prince of Orange arrayed themselves against him and were sure to be of considerable aid in the impending conflict with France.

James II of England was fettered by the strifes and domestic feuds in his country and Sweden was dragged from her French alliance. Everywhere in the empire, in the General States, in Sweden, and even in England, there was clamor for war with France. Louis's power had greatly declined because of his tyranny, and the welfare and means of his country dwindled, especially because of the expulsion of the Protestants. It was believed further that Louis would not be able to equip as powerful an army as before. The elector now planned to march against Paris through Burgundy, Lorraine and Brabant. All seemed ready to throw off the French yoke which they had borne with the deepest resentment.

But the elector was disgracefully deceived by Austria. Before the conclusion of the treaty she deprived it of its basis. She knew how to

render its purpose powerless, even during the negotiations.

Discord within the family of the elector had created many hopes. It was known to all that he had wished to bequeath territories and armies to his younger sons by his second wife. It was understood that Dorothy, the second wife of the elector, would secure the future of her children. This gave rise to painful misunderstandings between stepmother and stepchildren. It was generally believed that the elector had greatly harmed the children by his first wife for the sake of those by the second, and had injured the state as well. There had been a party at the court of the elector, since the time of his negotiation with France, which was decidedly against France and saw in an alliance with the emperor the only natural and right policy of Brandenburg. Personal feuds sprang into life at the court, especially after the nomination of the marshal of Schönberg, a Huguenot who had left the French cause, as general in chief of the Brandenburg army, and deeply offended the old generals Derfflinger and the prince of Anhalt.

These differences caused bitter quarrels and brought sorrow to the aged hero. Most of all the electoral prince, incited by the court of Hanover and his mother's brother-in-law, stren-

uously sympathized with the emperor, in whom he saw the natural ally of his House.

Since the emperor did not seem to be willing to cede territory to the elector in payment for the latter's renunciation of his claims upon the Silesian principalities, which Frederick would not grant, Fridag thought to play a trick on the elector by agreeing to cede to him the Schwiebus district, but promising at the same time to return it to Austria through a reverse of the electoral prince. To this the emperor and the imperial counselors consented, but they increased the reward of the electoral prince, "in order that posterity might not think the young prince had been overreached and the reverse obtained surreptitiously."

Aided by the prince of Anhalt, Fridag persuaded the electoral prince to the effect that the claims upon Liegnitz, Brieg and Wohlau were illegal, while that upon Jägerndorf was balanced by conferring upon the elector the privilege of demanding the Lichtenstein debt and by other concessions, and that the emperor could not possibly cede Schwiebus, since it would be a violation of the oath he had taken as king of Bohemia. It was the pro-French party which induced the elector to make such demands, Fridag remarked; hence it was necessary for the electoral prince to promise to return the

district to the emperor after his succession to the throne, in order that the alliance with him might not be impaired. On the 28th of February, 1686, the electoral prince signed this reverse, and thereupon the imperial party concluded a treaty with the elector.

Bitter revenge was taken upon the electoral prince because of this act, the danger of which he must have recognized from the fact that he was not permitted even to notify his most intimate counselor and former instructor, Eberhard of Danckelmann. But he could show that not only his father, but he himself had been deceived by Fridag, for neither were the Silesian claims of Brandenburg illegal, nor did the demands of the Lichtenstein debt offset that upon Jägerndorf, while the reference to the Bohemian oath of coronation was only pretense, as was proved by the actual cession of the district to Frederick William, which the Bohemian accepted as unconditional.

The elector had not learned of the deception, but he recognized that his interests as regarded France were different from those relating to Austria and the latter's position was in marked contrast to that of the former because of the question of the Spanish succession, and she must use all means to war against France.

It soon became evident that the Catholic in-

terests of Austria were stronger than her political contrast with France, and that it was more important for Catholicism to conquer the whole of Hungary than to fight France. The great hopes which the Catholics derived from the persecution of the Protestants in France and in Austria depended chiefly upon whether the successes of James II of England in behalf of Catholicism would last. This could not possibly be the case after James's son-in-law and legal successor, the prince of Orange, had ascended the English throne.

Under all circumstances the princes had to be prevented from taking such measures, which was impossible, however, without the aid of France. Hence it was essential for the holy see to let her fight England, and nothing was omitted which could induce the emperor to make peace with France. On the other hand, with his successes as an ally of Venice, Poland, and even Russia, against the Turks, there grew the hope of the holy see to obtain the Orient, which it had missed most painfully, and to once more bring the Greek Church under its dominance.

Disregarding the interventions of the elector in behalf of his co-religionists in Hungary, the emperor cruelly punished the Protestants on the ground that the rebels in that country had entered into alliances with the Turks, and the

slaughter at Eperies once more proved by means of fiery letters that Austria was not surpassed in severity by France when extirpating the heretics. As this was the aim of the holy see, it omitted nothing which could induce Austria to continue the war against the Orient, and because it could carry out its plans only when living at peace with France, Rome had to labor in that behalf. How therefore could the freedom of European states be considered as opposed to that magnificent plan of the unity of the Roman Church which included both Orient and Occident? Although Louis XIV destroyed the freedom of states and enslaved Germany, he stood unopposed there when he helped to reestablish the unity of the Catholic Church.

Thus Frederick William's wish to combat Louis was not realized. Peace with the Turks was not concluded, but it was negotiated at Paris and Vienna by the cardinals in behalf of the preservation of peace, and together with the grand Catholic hope disappeared the enmity of the Catholic imperial princes toward France. It was very difficult for the elector to maintain friendly relations with that country. At the diet of Regensburg, where Louis asked that the armistice which was to last for twenty years should be turned into continual peace, bitter hostilities broke out, for the demand of Louis meant

nothing less than the forcing of the empire to recognize the illegal annexation of imperial territory by France.

The elector was opposed to the scheme and recalled his ambassador at Regensburg because he had arranged with the French envoy to discuss that "disreputable peace." Thus Brandenburg was exposed to France. Soon afterward Austria negotiated with the latter, notwithstanding her treaty with Brandenburg, and made clear to the king that she would never declare war upon him. Louis's affairs improved. He entered into an agreement with Hanover, which the elector believed he had won for himself because of the marriage of the electoral prince and Princess Sophie Charlotte. At the next election of a new archbishop of Cologne, whose ecclesiastical lord seemed to unite and render hereditary the bishoprics of Liège, Münster and Hildesheim, Louis could count upon the election of an archbishop who would be loyal to him. James II of England was also allied with France, as was Denmark, and it was easy to recall the Polish king from the Turkish battlefields and to impress him that Brandenburg was an invaluable aid whom he should not fail to secure.

In reality Louis's power was stronger than ever before, and the influence of the Catholic Church broadened and deepened from day to

day. Not only did German Lutheran princes embrace Catholicism, but even Lutheran princes and statesmen, scholars and clergymen, swayed by political rather than religious motives, believed that the Lutheran Church ought to be united with the Catholic.

The elector had always hoped that the General States would assist him in his struggles against France. As the oppression of the Protestants by James II grew more severe and his contempt for the English constitution became more flagrant, the English people were induced to ask the prince of Orange to make use of his hereditary rights, and save the freedom of the Church of England and of his citizens. Now the elector could hope that the alliance between England and France would be dissolved, and he believed further that he would be able to save the equilibrium of the states and Protestantism without the aid of the emperor and in conjunction with the sea powers.

Toward the end of his life the elector recognized that independence and freedom of religion in Catholic states could be secured only through an alliance of Protestant states, but a union of the states was still impossible because of the activities of the Church. The immense supremacy of the Catholics, the conviction that the elector was the *defensor fidei,* the defender of

faith, in the time of distress of the Protestant Church, as well as the cruelties of James against Holland, induced the General States to reconcile themselves with the prince and to assist him in his expedition against England. Brandenburg, however, was to protect the General States and Church, as well as the cruelties of James against Denmark. This was naturally to be expected, for Frederick William alone had increased the war revenues to one million and a half thalers, by generous assistance of his subjects. We shall mention the aid he gave to the peasantry by removing the infantry to the cities (1684), the reorganization of finances, and the reform of the domains,—especially since the time of Earl Dodo of Knyphausen,—the establishment of a general Association of Commerce under J. E. van Grumbkow (1684), and the amendments regarding excise and its introduction into Magdeburg. He had also deprived the higher officers of their privilege of choosing subofficers, and he rendered the army as a body subject to civil law. In the last months of his life he did much in behalf of his nephew, and contracted for a large number of troops in the district of Cleves.

Until his death the elector was occupied with the thought of the great enterprise which would secure his state, protect Germany from

French supremacy, and also save the Protestant world.

But he was not destined to see the consummation of this vast beneficent enterprise. He fell ill, and suffered horrible pains. After January he was again afflicted with dropsy. He knew his end was near and referred to the 7th or 8th of May as the time of his passing away. On the 7th, he gathered his privy council around him for the last time, handed over the government to the electoral prince with words that deeply moved everyone, thanked the counselors for their services, exhorted them to render similar aid to his successor, and asked them to take the oath of allegiance to his son. He then parted from his family, and solemnly entreated the prince to obey his counselors.

But death was not quite ready to free him from his pains. Like a hero and pious Christian he had lived and like a hero and pious Christian he struggled with death. He was still able to discuss the Lord and the Hereafter with clergymen whom he had summoned to his deathbed, and he expressed his hope of being forgiven for his sins. Once more he parted from his family, and on the 9th of May, at 9 o'clock in the morning, after excruciating agonies borne with infinite patience, Elector Frederick William "closed his eyes softly and gently." His last

words were, "I know that my Savior liveth and that He will take me from the earth." "His family could learn from him how one must die," wrote Schwerin. It could also learn from him that the true preparations for such a death are a life full of struggles and toils, governed by a strict and rigid sense of duty. This solemn fact he had impressed upon his family and upon his state, and in it lay the beautiful hope that that state would last and endure even without him.

CHAPTER IV

ELECTOR FREDERICK III. KING FREDERICK I. 1688-1713

THE ELECTORAL ERA, 1688-1701

AN uncompromising sense of duty toward the state was the dominant motive in the life of the Great Elector. This profound conscientiousness in every respect governed him not only in the times of hope, but when summoned to stupendous toil, to full devotion, to unquestioning sacrifices in behalf of the German empire, and they were repaid with ingratitude and treachery. But despite all envy and hatred, the splendid sense of duty had been well rewarded.

Out of the devastated and wretched provinces which he had inherited from his father, the elector created a state that, feared by foe and respected by friend, had attained towering importance within the system of European states. With an area equal to three southern German states of today Brandenburg was not a geographical unity, but a steadfast country had been cre-

ated, and such a sense of duty roused into life among the officers of the state and its subjects existed nowhere else, least of all in Germany. Therein lay the secret of her power and of her importance.

As to area, Brandenburg ranked only thirteenth or fourteenth among European states. But while internal defects did not permit others fully to develop their capabilities, here prevailed wholesome, fresh, and work-loving life,—a sense of duty toward all and toward the state.

In Brandenburg it was not denied that she was and ought to be a power which alone could protect the inhabitants against foreign enemies, and which was also the foundation and the means of every intellectual and material development of the people. Such power the elector had won for his state and it was to exercise profound influence upon the whole of Germany. As intellectual life prevailed at the court of Berlin and in the Brandenburg universities, in the Brandenburg administration, and in the judicial system, attracting the very ablest Germans, so every economical advance of that state had to become important for the empire, especially through the three great roads of communication,—the Rhine, the Elbe, and the Oder, which flowed through the Brandenburg possessions. Among the degenerated ecclesiastical states

along the Rhine, a bulwark grew up in the West that could withstand with rock-ribbed courage even the might of a Louis XIV. In the East the white Polish eagle had been driven, fluttering with weakness, beyond the German frontier, and the red eagle of the electorate of Brandenburg spread his protecting pinions and with piercing eyes guarded Germany's border. Sweden held only a small, though very beautiful, portion of the country; her banner no longer waved in Prussian ports; her ships had to sail around the Prussian or the Lower Pomeranian coast, and together with Poland and France she had learned to fear once more the keen sword of the German. What would the German empire have been, if the German princes and the emperor had sided with the elector, even if they had but kept their treaties, and had not betrayed him?

In the first years of his reign the elector was too weak to abolish the double alien government of which the Westphalian Treaty had assured Sweden and France. He had freed Prussia, however, from the Polish sway and prevented the Swedes from establishing themselves in Prussia. With great valor he had won sovereignty there and forced the various classes to acknowledge it. He was about to deprive Sweden of that small piece of German soil when

menacing France and not the will of the emperor forced him to sheathe his sword. And when France began to extend her alien sway, with frightful cruelty, it was the elector who took up arms and who, treacherously forsaken by his allies, pressed the war against Louis so valiantly that the latter was compelled to call upon the Swedes to save him from the iron fist of the elector. This, however, was only an opportunity for Frederick William to defeat the Swedes decisively. With the day of Fehrbellin and that incomparable expedition to Prussia, the military glory of the Swedes and the shuddering fears had vanished.

None the less, France had accomplished all she had desired. Without the elector neither the emperor nor Holland, the empire nor Spain, could resist her. But instead of longing for the expedition from the Haff to the Rhine, which could bring salvation, they yielded to France in a most shameful peace, by which the well-won laurels were torn from the head of the elector. There had been concessions, the nature of which the German empire, as well as Spain and Holland, learned from the unheard of violations of all laws of the nations by Louis. By this peace the elector, too, had been forced to yield to the French rule. Notwithstanding all his offers and despite all the treaties, he had been exposed to

the wrath of Louis. Sorely vexed, he was compelled to renounce his claims upon German soil, wet with German blood. He was compelled to yield to the French rule, and to induce Louis by all sorts of promises and treaties to bring his cruelty to an end, for the old allies demanded war with France without being sufficiently prepared. And while the war party had induced the king to assume greater, bolder haughtiness, it was the yielding and acquiescing, yet resolute position of the elector before which Louis was forced to halt. It was a magnificent blessing for the empire that France did not invade Germany at the time when the Turks had advanced as far as Vienna. As Louis had foreseen, Frederick William was the first to endeavor to throw off the foreign yoke. Furthermore, as soon as the Catholic interests which were common to both Austria and France had grown stronger than the dynastic divergence between those two powers, the elector undertook the liberation of England which had been planned by his nephew, in order that he might find in an alliance of Protestant states a counterbalance against France.

To this enterprise the elector had won the electoral prince, and if there was a tension between the two, which reached its climax in the so-called flight of the prince to Cassel, it was of

great importance whether the father had unjustly treated his heir in his will.

On November 17, 1688, the will was opened. It spoke of the maintenance of the unity of the state, the undiminished transfer of the sovereignty to the electoral prince, whereas the younger sons were to obtain parages, that is, estates endowed with the privilege of nobility, this to be done through formalities and conditions which could in the course of time lead to real governmental rights. This would have corresponded with the interests of the emperor, who was authorized to execute the will, and to whom Frederick had given a dangerous weapon in the form of the Schwiebus Reverse. Family feuds must necessarily force the emperor to intervene,—a contingency that was to be avoided. And Frederick would not, as he put it himself, "be the man who would destroy the glory and the might of his family." He was convinced that to obey the wishes of his father he must resist any sort of dismembering of the country.

Chiefly through the mediation of the much offended mother of the elector, and through referring to the elector's "Paternal Exhortation," wherein he strongly emphasized the necessity of not dividing the state, the younger sons were finally induced to renounce their claims. This

peaceful settlement could not fail to be of the greatest importance to the state.

More intimate relations with his family made it easier for the new elector to reign. He was willing to take up the work of his father, and fulfill his duty toward the state. He made his former instructor and adviser, Eberhard of Danckelmann, the real privy counselor, who strove to work true to the policy of the great genius that had passed away.

Both he and the electoral prince Frederick William had made themselves familiar with his English enterprise. Far-reaching concessions were granted to the prince of Orange immediately after Frederick's succession to the throne, and Hesse-Cassel as well as Brunswick-Celle were willing to aid. William-Hanover had remained indifferent, but only Brandenburg was prepared for war.

In August the latter dispatched 6,000 men to assist the prince at a meeting at Minden, held in the month of September. Meanwhile the election in Cologne had taken place, and as the French candidate did not obtain the needed amount of votes it was feared that the city would be seized by French troops. Brandenburg soldiers saved it from the fate Strasburg had suffered, but King Louis worried greatly about the ever rising power of the emperor because of the

latter's victories over the Turks, and, hoping that the Dutch forces and the prince of Orange would be occupied with the English enterprises, he crossed the German frontier, September 24, 1688.

He speedily captured Speyer, Worms, Mainz, Mannheim and Heidelberg. Thus the four Rhenish electorates were in Louis's power, all southern Germany trembled, and even Breslau despaired. Holland was protected by a Brandenburg army under Schönberg. But Germany was called upon to pay the bloody toll for the liberation of England. In the North, by Frederick's energetic activity, the Magdeburg treaty was concluded between Brandenburg-Celle, Hanover, the electorate of Saxony, and Hesse-Cassel, in order to resist the invaders and to protect the main districts. William also landed safely on the English coast, King James was driven away, and William became sovereign of England.

Both he and William refused to join the alliance against France,—William because of the English situation, the emperor on account of his conflict with the Turks. Imperial war had been declared and it was believed that the elector "would also henceforward assist his beloved Fatherland," although Louis had made him most tempting promises. Only after the French

had begun that fiendish devastation of southern Germany which should create a desert between her and France, the emperor and England combined against France (May, 1689), and were willing to "admit" Brandenburg also.

As regarded the great purpose, Frederick ignored the contempt of the emperor and William and was active diplomatically and strategically to defeat Louis. His army, amounting to about 30,000 men, occupied the cities on the lower Rhine,—such as Rheinsberg and Kaiserwerth,—assisted in the capitulation of Mainz, and captured, under the personal leadership of the elector and aided by the duke of Lorraine, the city of Bonn (October 15, 1689). Thus the electorates of Cologne and Trier were evacuated by the French.

Frederick also negotiated with the German princes and the emperor to bring about a uniform policy of the empire. Consequently he furthered the desire of his father-in-law to obtain electoral rank for Holland, but made no use of the election of Archduke Joseph as Roman king (January, 1690), to obtain for Brandenburg any concessions from Austria. He attempted only one thing. Many times the emperor had called attention to the reverse of Schwiebus, and Frederick was finally compelled to reveal his secret. His counselor might question the

validity of the reverse, as all that is done by an heir to the throne can be doubted by the state, but it did not depend upon that. Although the counselor strove to get out of the difficult situation it was evident that the emperor would insist upon his claims. Even the imperial secretaries admitted that there was "something wrong" with the reverse, yet they regarded it as being understood that "legal and judicial subtleties might be disregarded among princes and lords."

Meanwhile they were occupied with the war, which was carried on in the usual manner. The allies suffered heavy losses. Brandenburg prevented the worst result and was therefore regarded with shameful ingratitude. While the emperor needed four and a half million thalers, the elector received only 300,000 for the same number of troops, which were under sole control of the emperor. Waldeck was crushingly defeated near Fleurus by the marshal of Luxemburg, and only a swift march of the Brandenburg army toward Brussels saved the Netherlands. The French fleet defeated that of the English-imperial and only the Brandenburgers in Brabant were able to prevent the French from landing troops on the coast of England.

In Italy, France was the mistress of the Po plain after the victory near Staffarda and threat-

ened Milan, so that the elector sent his troops to the city. On the Rhine, the French advanced as far as Aix-la-Chapelle, and only the Brandenburgers resisted them. Finally the emperor himself suffered heavy losses in Hungary, and after the occupation of Belgrade by the Turks the danger to Austria grew more threatening than ever before. Despite everything that had taken place, and although the Schwiebus affair was still pending, the elector sent 6,000 men to Hungary.

All this occurred although Sweden had in the meantime entered into an agreement with France, and although all feared a common procedure of Sweden and Hanover under the protectorate of France. It was doubtful whether the allies would realize what they had promised to the elector in 1690. Fortunately the great ambition of Duke Ernest August of Hanover induced him to disregard the Swedish plans and pay attention to the emperor and the sea powers. While Frederick assiduously advanced the plans of the duke, the latter could be persuaded to adhere to the common cause. When in December, 1692, the emperor recognized the electoral rank of Hanover, Berlin was filled with joy, and it was due to Brandenburg that the protests of the "corresponding princes had acquired no value."

In 1692, William III suffered disastrous losses in the Netherlands, whither Frederick had hastened. The Turkish peril also grew more menacing than ever, and the emperor asked Frederick to send 6,000 men against the Mussulmans. Since Frederick's troops were fighting in all the theaters of war on the Rhine, in the Netherlands, in Italy, and in Hungary,—and since the new demand of the emperor would have exposed the elector's own country,—he believed the former would yield his claims upon Schwiebus, recognize his lordship over eastern Friesland, and promise to furnish his soldiers with all the necessaries of life.

But once more Frederick "was mocked and fed with empty words," and the emperor even forgot to use the customary *courtoisie* toward him. The demand of the ruler was not met, because Frederick's plan, in whose realization we must recognize his greatest merit,—the acquisition of the royal crown of Prussia,—required him to continue sending troops to the aid of the emperor, and to yield to the latter in every respect. Thus he not only furnished men against the Turks but returned Schwiebus to Austria.

Soon after, the emperor acknowledged the elector's overlordship in eastern Friesland and his Prussian ducal rank. He also declared that he would prefer the elector above all others in

case of promotion. It was most important that the imperial commissioners required abandonment of the claims upon the Silesian duchies and that they gave up their demands after the Brandenburgers had rejected them. The elector had consented to the cession, not because of the reverse but on account of his imperial majesty. After the royal commissioners had dropped their protests against such premises, the legal effect of the reverse was also gone, and with it and the return of Schwiebus were revived all claims upon the Silesian duchies which had been deeded for Schwiebus.

All this yielding proved of no avail, since the imperial court had once intended to humiliate Brandenburg, who had grown too powerful. Especially in an affair concerning a Mecklenburg inheritance, the imperial court renewed its claim in a disagreeable manner, so that the Brandenburg envoy was not admitted to the court and left Vienna without officially notifying that body (1697). In addition to this the royal election in Poland approached and the Austrian candidate, Elector Charles August of Saxony, was chosen. The electorate of Saxony was now increased by Poland, and Austrian influence reached its zenith both at Warsaw and at Dresden.

At the peace congress at Ryswick the Bran-

denburg envoys were treated insultingly, and neither Brandenburg nor other Protestant princes would sign the agreement which had been concluded on the 30th of October, 1697, since the treaty contained an amendment to the effect that the Catholic Church should be retained in all those places where Catholic field services had been held during the occupation by the French.

The conclusion of peace brought Brandenburg a new humiliation: She was to be excluded. That was her entire success as Frederick wrote. Even William of Orange had not concealed his contempt, although he had repeatedly declared that he owed everything to Brandenburg. The latter now stood alone. Once more she had used all her power in behalf of the freedom of Europe, and once more she was forsaken by her allies. Thus fared the state which had done more than all the others and whose rise had been a thorn in the side of the previous ruling powers.

Many, including the elector, blamed Danckelmann, but meanwhile he had entered into agreements with others which were greatly to the advantage of the state. He renewed the old alliance with Sweden which protected all northern Germany, not only against Poland, but even against Sweden itself. He also concluded a treaty with the electorate of Bavaria, whose prince as a

grandson of Leopold's wife was entitled to claim the Spanish throne, and another treaty according to which Geldern, Jülich and Berg were to be ceded to the Brandenburger.

Thus a powerful position was secured in the west of Germany, and hopes were created for the rich Orange inheritance which should go to Brandenburg, legally and in accord with the declarations of King William. Both the elector and Danckelmann might have been proved to deserve anything except ingratitude from Germany, Holland, England, and above all from the prince of Orange. They were convinced that they had acted wisely in behalf of the freedom of the General States, albeit the fruits they had reaped were bitter.

Many significant things were done to further the inner development of the state, the inclinations of the elector corresponding in many respects to the needs of the country. His love for splendor and magnificence, softened by a delicate appreciation of the æsthetically beautiful, created a series of industries such as silk weaving, gold and silver spinning, the manufacture of mirrors and all kinds of fancy goods. The cloth, iron and leather industries and the coal mines became quite prosperous. Commercial treaties were made with the neighboring states, and the excellent postal service was

King August II. of Saxony-Poland and King Frederick William I. of Prussia.
Painted by Louis de Silvestre in the Gallery at Dresden.

highly praised by Leibnitz, who declared that it "spread commerce beautifully and successfully, so that the elector made a great name for himself and the inhabitants of the country were highly benefited." To advance literature and art fully accorded with Frederick's nature.

The University of Halle, which had once been planned by Cardinal Albrecht, and later by the Great Elector, was founded and was destined to be of the greatest importance to the state and Church, and indeed to all mankind. Besides famous representatives of science, such as Louis Veit of Seckendorf, Samuel Stryck, John Peter von Ludewig, the instructors included men like August Hermann, Francke and Christian Thomasius. The first established an orphan asylum which was an important factor in the development of the Prussian education system and, in conjunction with his friend, the provost Jacob Spener of Berlin, he was the most ardent champion of making use of one's faith in a genuine Christian manner. Thomasius was the first scholar to dare to lecture in German, in addition to which he edited a scholarly magazine in that language. He was an ardent opponent of the sole validity of the Roman law, of all prejudice and impractical school wisdom. He denounced the trials of witches, fought in behalf of "wholesome reason," and was,—ac-

cording to the statement of a great theologian who was of different faith,—"a whirlwind that had penetrated all fields of life and science."

At Berlin, of whose characteristics the Augsburg engraver John Stridbeck has left behind some twenty engravings, lived the most famous men of science, such as Pufendorf, whom the Great Elector had summoned to court to write a history of his reign with the aid of all the governmental documents; Ezechiel of Spanheim, artists like Nering, Eosander von Goethe, and chiefly Andrew Schlüter.

After the fashion of the Academy of Paris, an Academy of Arts was founded, and architecture was especially developed. The palace, the arsenal, the long bridge in Berlin, prove to this day Frederick's fine conception for such things.

Danckelmann strove to the utmost to improve the government of the state. The privy council gradually became the supreme adviser for all the provinces, and business was so arranged that the measures could be carried out easily and quickly. The general war commissariat, until 1690 under the leadership of Grumbkow, admirably supervised military affairs and taxation. Directed by Rudolf von Danckelmann it continued to carry on its work and was strengthened through the establishment of real governmental institutions. A general état, based upon

the états for the various provinces, organized by Earl Dodo of Knyphausen, whom the Great Elector had summoned to his court, and a collegiate aulic chamber, wisely regulated the income from the domains and regalia of all provinces. The wars called for large sums of money, especially since subsidies came in very irregularly, but the splendor of the court consumed immense amounts, and in the time of distress most urgent relief was sought for in the state vaults. The original system of finances could not meet the necessities, and severe financial distress was caused by a lack of system. Because of this Danckelmann was also blamed, he having always refused to take upon himself the responsibility for the finances.

He was open to attack for two reasons,—his serious, sometimes haughty demeanor at the court, and also among the officers, who envied him because of his being preferred to them. The elector's wife was often offended by him, and did not like to see him disregard the desires of her family in Hanover. She did everything she could to make him resign. The elector saw in him the disagreeable teacher who refused to understand that his pupil had become the ruling lord. Hence all malcontents hastened to blame their hated president for the failures in foreign affairs, and the exhaustion of the finances. Dan-

ckelmann, feeling that he would be unable to maintain himself, asked several times that his resignation should be accepted. When his request had been granted with all due honors it was turned into a disgraceful imprisonment in Spandau, and then in Peitz. This was due chiefly to Lord Chamberlain Kolbe of Württemberg and the intrigues of his wife, who was the daughter of a common sailor of Emmerich. Although investigation failed to prove the prisoner's guilt, the event was of no benefit whatever to foreign matters. William of England especially, who well knew that he owed everything to Danckelmann and who had done nothing to assist him, condemned his course. At the courts of Berlin and Hanover all were happy, while Frederick himself seemed rejuvenated. That he was convinced that Danckelmann aimed to render him impotent and become lord himself, we learn from the elector's "Paternal Exhortation," which he wrote for his son. He most urgently besought him never to confer upon one man so much power as had been conferred upon Danckelmann.

The final reëstablishment of peace was fully appreciated by Frederick, and in the "Paternal Exhortation" and a later letter of instruction he warned his son against the waging of war. For he truly said that war consumed whatever peace

created, and it was easy to unsheathe the sword, but difficult to return it with honor to its scabbard. He therefore exhorted him to increase the army, for that was the only means of preserving peace, the ruler thus proving his belief in "preparedness."

At that time there was sufficient ground for such an exhortation, since feuds were not settled through the establishment of peace. On the contrary, with the death of the young electoral prince of Bavaria, whose succession to the Spanish throne would have solved the problem of the great inheritance satisfactorily, the matter once more became the burning question of the hour, upon whose answer depended whether Europe would succumb to the French or the Austrian supremacy, or whether it would be possible to establish an equilibrium among the nations. But Brandenburg was interested in another matter which endangered its own eastern provinces, and the solving of which could easily lead to the final acquisition of Pomerania.

The new king of Poland had entered into an agreement with the czar and the king of Denmark, in order to avail himself of a favorable opportunity to deprive Sweden of several provinces; for a "young, immature man,"—Charles XII,—had ascended the Swedish throne. August reckoned with the assistance of Branden-

burg, and all were convinced that the grand scheme would be carried out successfully if Brandenburg would remain neutral.

Two heavy thunderstorms were imminent in the East and the West, Brandenburg being threatened by both, and yet it was not a question of finding protection against them, but of obtaining new honors and a royal crown.

CHAPTER V

THE ROYAL ERA. 1701-1713

FEUDS of all sorts, personal offenses of the elector and discourteous treatment of his ambassadors had heightened the bitter feelings of the ruler because of his failures in foreign politics. At the congress of Ryswick Dutch citizens are said to have advised him to make an end to such unjust treatments by assuming royal rank, and the advice was fully in accordance with the elector's point of view. A royal crown had been prophesied for him at his birth, and soon after his accession to the throne the rumor spread throughout the German lands that Frederick would put a royal crown upon his head. The commanding position that the Great Elector had given his state was the foundation of such a plan, and during the negotiations with Austria regarding the treaty of 1686, the question is said to have been discussed.

Elector Frederick was filled with the thought, and the acquisition of the royal honor had become part of his programme. Since 1690, the matter had been discussed by the elector's coun-

selors, and referred to at other courts, and in 1693 Vienna took up the question. Quite naturally many of the elector's counselors protested and Danckelmann and Fuchs regarding it as late as 1698 "an entirely mere impossibility." None the less, the failures in foreign politics induced Frederick to carry out his plan,—"for as long as I am mere elector," he wrote, "they always oppose my schemes"—and Kolbe of Württemberg saw the safety of his own position in the fulfillment of that desire.

It was evident that the chief powers, including the emperor, would of necessity consent, since the mere assumption of the royal title without recognition would lead to most serious struggles. It was also clear that the crown could be based only upon the duchy of Prussia, as the king of one of the imperial territories would have remained only a "vassal king," and would not have been recognized either by the emperor or by imperial princes. Many conflicts and insoluble difficulties would arise. In Prussia, however, the elector was an entirely independent sovereign.

First he needed the consent of the emperor, with whom he had quarreled since the departure of Nicholas von Danckelmann. The lord chamberlain of Württemberg managed that the youthful Christian of Bartholdi should be sent to

Vienna to entreat the emperor to perform the investiture (1698), with orders to yield in every respect to the desires of the emperor. He was received by Vienna and succeeded in reëstablishing relations with the imperial court.

The elector demanded the frank opinions of Bartholdi, Ilgen and Fuchs. They emphasized all doubts and dangers with regard to their plan, but did not try to dissuade the elector from undertaking it. The latter considered of great importance the fact that there should be no imperial nomination for king, but that the emperor should consent to the elector's own assumption of the royal crown. He further emphasized that this consent could be obtained easily, since the Brandenburg affairs were very favorable, and that the matter should not be delayed.

King August III of Poland, with whom France had often come in contact, as well as his allies, Denmark and Russia, needed at least Brandenburg's neutrality, and therefore had to consent to Frederick's wish. The latter soon got hold of a pamphlet by the Jesuit Pater Vota, the godfather of King August, who strongly favored Frederick's plans. Meanwhile, he revealed his intentions regarding the ever progressing Catholic Church, together with his proposition to obtain the royal crown from the

hands of the pope himself. He had reason to believe that his intention would be sanctioned by his cousin, the king of England, and by the General States.

The emperor was finally forced to consent to every desire of the young electoral prince of Bavaria (January, 1699). Vienna was more determined than ever to obtain the entire Spanish inheritance for the Hapsburgs. But a new treaty had been concluded between France and the sea powers, according to which only Spain, the colonies, and the Spanish Netherlands should go to Austria, and the two Sicilies and Milan to France, which should exchange Milan for Lorraine.

The emperor would by no means consent to permit France thus to gain firm ground in Italy. He was determined to take up arms in behalf of the whole inheritance, and refused to agree to the treaty for the dismemberment of Spain. Still, how was it possible to undertake such an expedition against France and the sea powers at the same time? Whence obtain at least one ally? The Norse states were fully occupied; in the empire not only the Protestant princes had been greatly offended because of the amendment of the Ryswick congress, but the Catholic princes were especially displeased on account of the Viennese absolute government. The

"princes corresponding about matters relating to the ninth electorate" implored the protection of France in August, 1700. Assistance from the mightiest prince in Italy, the duke of Savoy, could hardly be expected, nor did the upheavals in Hungary invite war in the West.

The outlook was of a most doubtful nature, such as the proud imperial house had not dreamed of several years previous, but circumstances were favorable for Frederick's "noble design." Brandenburg, with its brave and strong army, was the only state from which Austria could obtain aid. The elector's desire had now to be granted, but how many more difficulties the young Bartholdi had to overcome? Several times the negotiations seemed to come to naught. It had been agreed to further the Catholic Church, but in that respect Frederick remained as firm as a rock.

Very peculiarly the difficulties were often solved by a Jesuit, the highly distinguished Pater Wolf. The emperor feared lest the sea powers that had brought about the Peace of Travendahl between Denmark and Sweden, after a treacherous attack upon the latter, might induce Berlin to join them. The king of Spain was on his deathbed. At last, probably impressed by the death of the king, Vienna was willing to sign the treaty which would provide

the emperor with 8,000 men in his struggle for the Spanish throne, and a great number of further concessions regarding minor affairs, and would also acknowledge the royal rank of Prussia.

On November 16, 1700, the treaty was signed, and on December 4 the emperor sanctioned it. Twelve days later the elector and his court set out for Königsberg, and on January 18 he crowned himself as king of Prussia, founded the Order of the Black Eagle, and at Königsberg as well as at Berlin later on a number of festivals were celebrated in a fashion of which the new king was not ignorant.

A great thing had been accomplished. It was, so to speak, the christening of the state which the Great Elector had created. All the provinces that belonged to the elector of Brandenburg were united in one commonwealth, financially and strategically, and appeared to be a single state. The citizen of the March, however, regarded himself as such, the Pomeranian still maintained that he was a Pomeranian and the residents of Magdeburg and Minden claimed their respective citizenships.

A uniform name had to be provided for the state and soon there were only a royal Prussian army, royal Prussian officers, and royal Prussian subjects. The uniform name became the

cement for the uniformity of the state, and the royal crown was the cornerstone for the welding of the state into the Prussian Fatherland. The common name thus transferred from the crown to the whole state helped to establish a comradeship among the subjects, and a reverent affection for a common country.

The first opportunity in the Norse War had been neglected. They had not even spoken of the Silesian principalities, though the emperor had promised to aid Frederick in acquiring the Orange inheritance, so far as the German counties and estates were concerned. Brandenburg had to fight alone for Austria in behalf of the Spanish throne, but since an army had been promised by Frederick William, it was possible to be prepared for the Norse opponents also.

After the will of King Charles of Spain was opened, the opposition between the emperor and the sea powers ceased, and the alliance of the sea powers and France was ended. Charles bequeathed his entire inheritance to the dauphin of France; Louis accepted the will and, in November, 1700, notified all European courts that his grandson had ascended the Spanish throne. The sea powers could never consent to this and were forced to join Austria. On the 7th of September, 1701, a treaty was concluded between them and the emperor.

Of the imperial princes only Hanover sided with Leopold, and the English royal crown already seemed to rest upon the head of that elector or his mother, the brilliant and valiant Sophie of the Palatinate. Gradually all other imperial princes were forced, though without battle, to join the emperor. Once more the empire was obliged to wage war against Louis in behalf of the Hapsburg interests, while at the same time horrible outrages were perpetrated in the East, after Charles XII had utterly overthrown King August III of Poland-Saxony, through the occupation of Warsaw and Cracow and the victory near Clissow. Only the two electoral brothers of Bavaria and Cologne were allied with France. General conditions and the duty toward Prussia induced Frederick to take up arms against the French universal monarchy. His state was equally opposed to a French or a Swedish government, and yet the former was about to obtain the most oppressive supremacy in Europe, whereas the latter seemed only to threaten from afar. Since Prussia also expected to obtain the Orange inheritance it corresponded to her own interests. But as almost all the troops of the state (30,000 instead of 14,000) were engaged in that war, contrary to the treaty and the duty toward the empire, it was impossible to give attention to the conflict in the East

or sufficiently to protect the Prussian frontier, and it cannot be denied that the peculiar conditions at the court of Berlin shared in that policy.

Since the coronation the influence of Count Württemberg had become almost supreme. While Ilger was intrusted with foreign affairs it was the count who controlled them, as he did the internal government. This was the case especially after he had skillfully defeated the opposition of the acting counselors and the leading aulic officers. Henceforward he tolerated only such of them as yielded unconditionally to him. He made Count Wittgenstein the lord marshal and supervisor of the domains, and appointed Count Wartensleben the lord commissioner of war. The latter act greatly aroused the army; the most distinguished generals resigned, and a chasm opened between the court and the army.

The whole period was affected by French customs and attitudes. Thus everything at the court of Berlin was arranged after the fashion of Versailles, and new festivities were held at the court of Berlin, in the neighboring castles, and in the royal parks. For his pleasure trips on the water the king had built a magnificent yacht, "Liburnica," whose beauty was widely praised. In those times masquerades were very popular. Members of the royal family took part

in them and von Besser, the master of ceremonies, commented rather unpleasantly, although his verses were highly honored. The poems of the earl of Canitz were much better, and even the extremely flat rhymes of the early deceased Nickolaus Peucker were edited, and dedicated to the electoral prince.

The expenses of the court festivities were paid from the state vaults. Berlin was enlarged through Friedrichstadt, and grew so fast that an annual directory was issued as early as 1704, and it became in many respects a literary metropolis. Leibnitz, a friend of the elector's wife, spent much of his time at Berlin, and upon his advice an Academy of Sciences was established in addition to the Academy of Arts, at which economical as well as practical studies were pursued and much attention was paid to the German language and patriotic history.

The library and the much admired chamber of arts were greatly improved, and the large buildings of which we have spoken were expanded. Frederick was exceedingly happy as the protector and patron of arts and sciences. In this respect he was in accord with his wife, who sarcastically criticised all festivals and the stilted ceremonies. To this day have remained the meetings in the queen's palace at Lietzen, which was soon named Charlottenburg, in her honor. There the most

famous men of the time exchanged ideas regarding the momentous problems of the world, and always found new occasions to admire the philosophical inclinations of the queen.

It was of lasting importance that a court of appeals was established in addition to the chamber court for those provinces which did not belong to the electorate, and thus a further step was taken toward the legal union of the state. A systematic arrangement was planned in return to the chamber court and the country law, and men like Rüdiger von Wedel and Paul von Fuchs won great fame because of the judicial reform which was so badly needed in those times.

The king had consented to those plans, while Württemberg always understood how to conceal from the ruler the true state of the finances and actual conditions in the country. Inevitably the extravagant court life developed its harmful shortcomings. The expenses were double the income, and whatever was done in the line of taxation failed to establish an equilibrium between expenditure and revenue. For some time there was hope in the promises of an adventurer,—Dominico Castano Conte de Ruggiero, —who promised to coin money by means of alchemy. Naturally the fraud was soon found out and the deceiver was hanged.

Help was very badly needed and it seemed to be at hand when Luben von Wulfen proposed to divide the royal domains and rent them to others. This plan was designed to increase the finances, to improve the pitiful conditions among the peasants, and to encourage an increase in the population. The measure, however, only increased the income of the court, and gradually led to a squandering of all domains, and threatened to destroy the very groundwork of all income.

Added to this was the woful requirement that the country must pay five-sixths of the expenses of the war and the fact that the unfavorable will of King William of England caused serious differences between the elector and Holland on account of the Orange inheritance.

Meanwhile the war against Louis had been carried on with varying success. In Italy, Prince Eugene accomplished many wonderful military feats; in the Netherlands the duke of Marlborough maintained his position amid great difficulties; and in Germany, French and Bavarian troops had advanced as far as Austria and were about to enter into an alliance with Prince Rákoczy of Transylvania. It was a distressing crisis for Austria. Finally the union of Eugene and Marlborough led to a decisive engagement, and on the 13th of August, 1704, near Höch-

stadt, the French were disastrously defeated and all southern Germany was freed from them.

There the generals had to admit the valor of the Prussian troops, who had done much toward securing victory. They were led by Prince Leopold of Anhalt, a strict disciplinarian who filled his soldiers with the true military spirit and had already distinguished himself on the lower Rhine. The Prussian troops were needed so badly that after it had been decided to make use of them elsewhere the two generals, Prince Eugene and Marlborough, came to Berlin several times to protest.

Entanglements in the East grew so serious, especially after Charles XII had brought about the election of Stanislas Leszcznyski as king of Poland, that Prussia was asked for assistance by August the Strong, as well as by Czar Peter, and finally by Sweden herself. In payment he was offered the territory which separated the March from royal Prussia, but nothing was accomplished, even after Emperor Joseph I, following Leopold's death on May 5, 1705, fearing the march of Charles XII through Volhynia, sought to come into closer contact with Sweden. But Charles defeated August the Strong near Fraustadt, and in the Treaty of Altranstadt forced him to renounce his claims to the Polish throne, so that the whole of Poland fell under

the power of the Swede. Berlin greatly feared that Sweden would occupy Prussia and make war upon the latter from Pomerania as a base, or perhaps unite with the French who were stationed in Franconia. But Charles proposed to enter into agreement with Prussia, and only the repeated visits of Marlborough induced the king to believe that England would protect him in case he should be attacked. Meanwhile, Marlborough had won a splendid victory near Ramillies, in the Netherlands, and Prince Eugene was victorious in the neighborhood of Turin (1706); thus these generals gained the upper hand in the two theaters of war.

The battle of Turin (September 7, 1706) greatly added to the military glory of the Prussians and Prince Leopold of Anhalt. In those days Protestant service was held by Prussian field pastors, who were in the papal dominions for the time. Although the Prussian arms were triumphant the successes did not benefit Prussia. In truth, she had to be content that Charles XII was prevented, through Marlborough as it seems, from entering into an alliance with France, and that he was willing to conclude a treaty with the emperor and with Prussia which once more clearly indicated his ruling power.

Although Frederick's troops took part in the great battle of the following year (1708), near

Oudenarde in the Netherlands, these achievements only increased the imperial haughtiness. In the insignificant German feuds, in the maintenance of the army, and in many other respects, the imperial party found an opportunity lording it over the young kingdom. Although Prussia had done more than her treaties and her duties toward the empire required, and although the allied powers had kept none of their promises, they always made new demands and acted as if Prussia were the most serious menace of the empire.

The General States also displayed their hatred of the new kingdom after Mors and Luigen had been ceded to Frederick upon the decision of the emperor, and after the Prussian troops had established their headquarters in the occupied city of Geldern and especially the tribunal of Neuchâtel had legally recognized the surrender of the principality to Prussia, ceded by King William to its sovereign as early as 1694.

With the victories of the following years peace seemed to be at hand. Charles XII was decisively defeated near Pultawa by the czar, and near Malplaquet the allies,—chiefly through the aid of Prussian troops, among whom the crown prince was present,—crushed the last army of Louis XIV. But in the East the czar had taken the place of Sweden, occupied Livonia and Esth-

onia, and advanced to the border of the New March.

All offers of Prussia were of no avail, as were those made to Charles XII, since the Prussian army was fighting in the distant West and South. Frederick seriously intended to recall his troops to protect his own country, but in the end contented himself with the declaration of the neutrality toward the Swedish imperial provinces by the sea powers. Prince Eugene entreated the king to leave his men with the main army, since he wished to deal the final blow against Louis, but a victory of the Spaniard and the overthrow of the Whig cabinet in England changed French conditions for the better. On the other hand, Charles XII rejected that neutrality, entered into an alliance with the Turks, and once more invaded Poland, while a Swedish army marched into Upper Pomerania. Now was to be brought about a decision between him and the czar.

Into the midst of this crisis penetrated a second one. Württemberg and Wittgenstein plundered the country more and more, and knew how to conceal the true state of affairs from the king. Aid must be given the provinces of Prussia and Pomerania, which had been desolated by bad harvests and pestilence, while the city of Crossen was destroyed by a great fire.

It became evident that the money had been spent for some other purposes, and that the vaults were empty. Count Wittgenstein rejected the just demands which the king had sanctioned, and thus roused general exasperation. The electoral prince urged his father to proceed against the count.

The most shocking disorder and shameful dishonesty and injustice against the subjects were revealed. Count Wittgenstein was imprisoned, but freed later on; Count Württemberg and his wife were ordered to leave Prussia and live at Frankfort-on-the-Main. It vexed the king excessively, but it was almost impossible to bring order into the topsy-turvy government. It need not be said that the commissioners who were intrusted with that work were fully occupied. The aulic and chamber government were again separated, the general commissariat, under Frederick William of Grumkow, was turned into a collegiate office, a uniform chamber government was established, the chamber court reformed and, in short, a "more profitable and more inward constitution" gradually came into force.

Yet foreign conditions could not be changed for the better, especially since the czar knew how to buy peace from the Turks. Under his protectorate the kings of Denmark and Poland

hoped to realize their original plan and were about to take possession of the German provinces of Sweden. Prussia, deprived of troops, was compelled to look indifferently upon Russians, Saxons and Poles marching through the country, and to learn that Pomerania had been promised to Denmark.

Prussia thought to obtain help from the emperor, for she had again come into closer relation with Austria because of assistance in behalf of the imperial election of Charles VI (October, 1711). Frederick reaped the warmest words of gratitude from the emperor, but nothing else. "The outcome of the matter must be considered," they said, when the Norse allies besieged the cities of Stralsund and Wismar. The whole interest of the emperor was directed toward Utrecht, where a peace congress had been called after tedious negotiations of the various states in which Frederick had also participated. Despite the mobilization in England it was beyond doubt that, after the overthrow of Marlborough (1712), his country would make peace with France for the sake of a division of Spain.

Prince Eugene once more attempted to bring about a change in London through personal negotiations and military successes, but after the English had concluded an armistice, the imperial party, although in favor of a continuation of the

war, was also willing to make peace and the General States were especially interested in it. It was important for Prussia to save the Orange inheritance, and the discussions and decisions clearly showed the relation between the concessions and the accomplishments of Prussia and the treaties.

Meanwhile affairs in the East had assumed a still graver form. The Prussian provinces were greatly endangered, and even the marching of Russo-Polish troops through the March and Berlin had to be tolerated. Filled with humiliating sorrow the electoral prince wrote that there were no regiments in the country, no gunpowder save several hundred pounds, and no money. "With the pen they would conquer countries, whereas I hold that the sword is needed, for otherwise he will not succeed."

A Swedish general named Steenbock had landed at Rügen, the siege of Stralsund had been raised, and he defeated the Danes near Gadebusch (December, 1712). All attempts of Frederick to make peace were futile and from Bender came information about Charles XII which told of his desire to revive the war that was already raging as far as the mouth of the Weser and to conjure up no dangers for Prussia.

Dismal were those days for King Frederick. His third wife, Sophie Louise, Duchess of

Mecklenburg, had gone insane, and he was suffering from illness that was ultimately to cause his death. The people dearly loved their sovereign, whose noble heart was known to all, and although the nature of the crown prince differed from that of his father, was not the crown prince assured after his father's death on the 25th of February, 1713, that the kingdom would thrive and take new root, and the state would gain new life?

CHAPTER VI

THE STATE OF THE GREAT KING 1713-1807.

Its Foundation by King Frederick William I. 1713-1740. Foreign Politics.

NO other Prussian ruler or monarch in the world has been so misunderstood and unjustly condemned as King Frederick William I. Investigating the incidents of his reign, and judging them after the reports and notes of personages that had been hostile to the king and his state, one forgets the trials and hardships that beset all officers from the highest to the lowest rank, from the most aristocratic members of the ruling family down to the commonest citizen, but it was those hardships which benefited the country, and caused its rise.

We also forget that the calamity was so great, comprising almost all classes and institutions of the state, and no one could bring a change. Disorder and mismanagement, reckless flattery and deceitful egotism, were much in vogue, both in the government and in society. All scorn for

wickedness was gone and only an iron broom could have swept away all the hideous evil. But this was not the case everywhere. Both in the government and in the army, at the court and among the citizens, were excellent individuals. They lacked the skilled and energetic leadership which could guide them through the evils to victory. It cannot be said that it was worse in Prussia than anywhere else. But in France and in England, in Holland as well as in the empire, calamity and evil thrived more obscurely, whereas in Prussia Frederick William revealed them fearlessly, and displayed them pitilessly. Not content with this, he utterly destroyed vicious doings. Indignation and derision were heaped upon the king, for vengeance had to be secured in some way because of the destruction of favorite habits.

Frederick William gave to the state an entirely new character, "strong and stout, and which had remained as one of the peculiarities of the state." His reforms in every field of the government, the army and the finances, the judicial and educational systems, formed the foundation on which the Germans stand today, but they were also the basis upon which could be reared the imposing creation of his son, the proud structure of their country. Just as the genius of the great king by far surpassed the talent of

his son, and as the mistreatment of the son by the father seemed to influence the latter's judgment of his parent, so Frederick's opinion of Frederick William I became important. Nothing is more established historically than the fact that Frederick always recognized his father's importance to the state. "As the shade of the oak depends upon the power of the acorn," King Frederick wrote, "so does all my later fortune depend upon the toilsome life and the prudent measures of Frederick William." In accordance with that attitude he declared in the beginning of his reign that the foundation and the walls should remain the same, and only the decorations would be changed. If the successor, who had suffered greatly from the cruelty of his father, were able fully to recognize the fundamental importance of the king for the state, so history should no longer judge Frederick William's system according to the harshness with which it was often mixed, but with due regard to its vital, inmost value, its purposes, its aims and its successes. The keystone of that system lay mainly or only in the inner development of the state, while foreign policy in those times was of little importance, since a general exhaustion was opposed by an insatiable desire to rise and to obtain more power and greater dignity.

The natural result of the disproportion between the almost adventurous plans of the individual states and their power, characterized those times by short-lived and frivolous treaties, and led diplomacy into those roundabout roads which could not possibly be followed by the straightforward King Frederick William. But the honesty with which he pursued his foreign policy should be inherited by his state, in which respect it far surpassed all other states. He did not consider himself the equal of the foreign ambassadors and often refused to receive them, preferring to wander into the lonely depths of the forest. The members of his court were glad if they could get hold of him on Sundays after the religious service.

One must not regard the domestic and foreign policy of a state as on two lines which run parallel and without interference, but the power of foreign politics will always depend upon the means created by the domestic order. The two, however, are roots of the same tree,—the state, —and hence can be discussed consecutively.

"He will render himself very fearful and his neighbors will either seek his friendship or fear his enmity; his states, however, will feel very happy under his sway," said the prudent Saxon envoy von Manteuffel, in the first few weeks of the new government. The Dutch ambassador

remarked that the worst might be expected from the monarch, since he had expressly declared that all his love belonged to the soldiers.

How they had been disappointed! "Frederick William was monarch rather than soldier." It was the love for his troops that kept dangers away from the country, for the Prussian military power had frightened all, as the king meant it should do. One might even say that he timidly avoided a decision by the sword. He was "the most careful guardian of peace."

The foreign policy of Frederick William might be divided into two parts,—the arrangement of Norse matters and the solution of the question regarding the Jülich-Berg succession.

First of all it was necessary to reach a conclusion at the peace congress at Utrecht, in order to be able to check the Norse peril, for just then the Porte declared war upon the czar, so that the return of Charles XII and a renewal of the Norse danger were to be expected. When that return did not take place, the Norse question was solved by the Danes, the Poles and the Russians, who had encircled the Swedes near Tönningen, without any regard for Prussia. Through intrigue and cunning, Holland and the emperor sought to prevent Prussia from obtaining the Orange inheritance, contrary to the treaty of 1700; but finally they were compelled,

after Frederick William had won over the British ambassador by means of 50,000 thalers, to cede to Prussia the so-called Upper Quarters of Geldern, a small piece of territory situated near Mörs and Cleves.

Everyone hoped that peace had at last been established in the West. England, France, Holland, Prussia, and even Savoy and Portugal signed the Treaty of Utrecht on the 11th of April, 1713. The emperor, however, refused to consent to it, since he was required to cede northern Italy from the Spanish inheritance, although he need not fear any new entanglements in the East because of the Russo-Turkish war. The imperial court was disturbed because the Norse question conjured up new dangers for Germany, and because Prussia would have to be constantly prepared to protect both German rights and her own existence. By means of all manner of tricks the empire demanded the continuation of the war, and without regarding the imperial constitution it was believed that control over the armies of the German princes, and especially the Prussian forces, could be obtained. Everywhere the emperor raised his powerful armies, with which he would confront France.

Yet of the four millions that he had demanded not even 5,000 florins came in until June, and the number of troops was very insignificant.

Frederick William declared he would be unable to equip more than his imperial contingent.

In truth he was unable to act otherwise. Though the Norse allies had availed themselves of the absence of Sweden's king in order to invade Pomerania, to advance through the March, to encircle the Swedes at Stettin and Tönningen, and even to besiege Hamburg, they had been able to do so only because they were convinced that Prussia would undertake nothing against them. But the absence of Charles XII had enabled the venturesome counselors of the duke of Holstein—Gottorp, Görtz and Bassewitz—to adopt the plan of opening negotiations with all involved powers in the name of their lord. They would conclude a peace which should make the duke king of Sweden and unite Holstein, which Denmark had claimed for herself, with Sweden.

But all these plans,—those of the Russians with regard to the coasts of the Baltic, of the Danes respecting Schelswig-Holstein, of the Saxons with relation to Pomerania,—must assume a new character if Prussia should intervene. And was it possible for anybody to expect utter indifference from this young king after he had obtained control over his troops through the Peace of Utrecht? And would he be willing to see Pomerania go to enemies worse than the Swedes? Was it not necessary for the

latter to use all means at their command to win over the Prussians trained in battle? And was not the position of the allies, after the arrival of a fresh Swedish force in Pomerania, highly desperate?

Thus all depended upon the decision of Prussia, and everywhere the statesmen of Berlin were laboring in that behalf, statesmen like Görtz and Bassewitz, Count Fleming and Prince Menschikoff. But Frederick William thought that more than a year would be needed to prepare his army and secure finances, before he could undertake anything. He therefore aimed to avoid all binding treaties, "as a novice who was not yet able to carry out a small affair by force."

Only after the capitulation of Stettin by the Swedes, on September 29, 1713, did he intervene in a very decisive manner. Until the conclusion of peace, the czar was forced to cede Stettin and the whole territory to the Peene, according to the Treaty of Schwedten (October 6), and promised to do the same with Stralsund and Wismar as soon as they should be freed from the Swedes.

The allies also promised to evacuate Pomerania, and Prussia was prepared to prevent the Swedes from invading that country. Through that treaty Prussia not only possessed herself

of Stettin, but laid the foundation at the same time to free gradually all German territory from the incalculable changes of war. A camp of Prussian troops near Lenzen induced Denmark to renounce Holstein, of which she had unjustly taken possession, but after the capture of Tönningen she herself prepared to invade Sweden. The czar was much pleased and promised to demand Stettin and the Pomeranian Isles for Prussia at the next peace.

Naturally the increasing expansion of Russian power was not agreeable to Prussia, but France, seeking to win over the king in behalf of Sweden, could make only empty pledges. The emperor, however, "whom Frederick William wanted to win over as a friend," was not inclined to aid the king, who is said to have exclaimed, "If the emperor wants to do it, I want too, but the emperor doesn't want to." Despite all French defeats, the emperor concluded the Peace of Rastatt, which was based upon the Treaty of Nymwegen, that is, he once more ceded Pomerania to Sweden.

It really seemed impossible to overthrow that hateful alien rule. Charles XII suddenly started from Demotika, and his fame and splendor alone brought numerous recruits to the Swedish colors. France, the emperor, and even England, where Elector George of Hanover had

ruled since August, 1714, aided Charles's enterprise both openly and secretly. Frederick William was prepared anew, and within three weeks was able to appear at the frontier with some 30,000 men, though he would not open hostilities.

He soon declared that he would not pay the 400,000 thalers that he had promised if Stettin was evacuated, and he regarded it as incumbent upon him to protect Swedish Pomerania against Saxon-Polish attacks, promising not to invade either Saxony or Poland from Pomerania as a basis. He also offered a loan of 800,000 thalers to the king if he would cede the whole territory to the Peene. But Charles insultingly rejected this offer, and the landgrave of Hesse came to Berlin demanding Stettin for the Hessian troops.

Frederick William refused the demand. He insisted upon the decisions of the Treaty of Schwedten, relying on Poland and Russia, and was even willing to accept mediation by France, although Charles XII had possessed himself of Wolgast, which only twenty Prussian soldiers had occupied. "I should like to settle the whole matter peacefully," wrote the king. The proposition of Hanover regarding the division of Swedish territory in Germany was rejected and he prepared himself for the battle. All the negotiations led to nothing, and while they

were going on Charles was guilty of a second violence against Prussia by occupying the Isle of Usedom (April 22, 1715).

The king immediately demanded the expulsion of the Swedish ambassador and the conclusion of the treaties with Hanover and Denmark, and left for Stettin on the 28th of April to visit his army.

The expedition's start was delayed till June, owing to the defective preparations of the Danes, but they were able to besiege Stralsund. After a severe battle had been fought (July 21st to August 22nd), General von Arnim occupied Wolgast, the Peenemünd Trenches, and the entire isle of Usedom. Finally, in September, the Danish fleet appeared before Bodden.

Thus, after the nocturnal attack upon the Frankish Gate by the Prussian Adjutant General Köppen, it was possible to land at Rügen, which was a prerequisite for the occupation of Stralsund. Among the most difficult struggles, including that against wind and weather, the landing was effected on the 15th of November by the prince of Anhalt. Four thousand Swedes had been killed, but Charles XII could not be induced to evacuate Stralsund, which he himself had defended. The siege now began and finally Frederick William's labors were crowned with success. The stronghold capitulated on De-

cember 24 and was ceded to Denmark, together with Rügen and the territory to the Peene, in accordance with the Danish-Prussian treaty. Only on those conditions had Denmark been willing to cede Bremen and Verdun to Hanover, in return for which the latter was willing to join the alliance.

Meanwhile, these magnificent military achievements of the king only caused new demands from Prussia on the part of Denmark, England and Saxony-Poland and the exploits were very displeasing to many imperial princes and chiefly to the king, "causing sorrow and *jalousie*." In vain did Paris—after the death of Louis XIV—attempt to induce the French to invade Cleves, while the emperor used his utmost power to "display all seriousness" against Prussia, which had on her account declared war upon an imperial class, and thus violated public peace. He thought he would be able to use all the Prussian troops against the Turks, whereas Frederick William could not spare a farthing, nor a single man.

In the meantime the czar, who had hitherto remained inactive, appeared at Riga (1716), greatly humiliated King Augustus at Danzig, and prepared to proceed against Mecklenburg. He seemed only to have waited until his enemies should become exhausted, in order to gain con-

trol over them. He thus opposed the Hanover interests of King George, since the latter sought to obtain the Mecklenburg and Upper Pomeranian provinces. Consequently the Norse question led to a tension between Russia and England, in the course of which the position of Prussia grew more and more difficult, because of the treaty between England and the emperor, and the sympathies of Russia for Sweden.

The king had to defend himself against many demands. He was obliged to maintain relations with the czar, without being terrified by that ruler. Several times he was asked to pay a visit to him, and he had a conversation with Peter at Stettin, but would hear nothing of another meeting with him. He consented to the cession of Wismar to the czar's son-in-law, the duke of Mecklenburg, but insisted that the fortifications should be destroyed, and refused to leave Prussian troops for the expedition into Schonen.

At a new meeting at Havelburg, Peter was forced to consent to the guarantee of Stettin and the territory to the Peene by France, which had also promised not to attack the empire. It was more difficult to maintain friendly relations with England, since the Welfic plans of King George I had greatly pleased the emperor and a treaty between England and France, contrary to an alliance between the two powers, was sanc-

tioned by Vienna, since it was considered an excellent means of overthrowing Prussia. The emperor needed the English fleet for use against Spain, and even if forced to aid the Hanover hostile intentions toward Prussia, he was highly delighted. He renounced his claims upon the Spanish throne and joined the treaty between England and France (April, 1718).

Harshly and unwisely King George proceeded against Prussia. He was willing to return Verdun to Sweden in order to obtain Upper Pomerania. Moreover, the emperor was willing to assist him in the conquest of Mecklenburg, by conferring upon him the execution against the duke, who had committed the most horrible crimes during the war with the various classes. An imperial commission was officiating at Rostock, but the country was held by Hanoverians.

The emperor intervened directly against Frederick William, after his classes in the Old March and in the districts near Magdeburg had opposed the king. He abolished laws ordained by the lord of the country, and freed the classes from their obedience to the king. He had the consent of Hanover, England and Saxony-Poland, whose electoral prince had been converted to Catholicism and who had sought to gain the hand of an archduchess. How was it possible for him not to give expression regarding the

jealousy and hatred against Prussia which increased from day to day? Imperial troops were already gathered in the province of Silesia.

George I and the emperor could ordain law for the king, and also use him as the executor of their policy, but the king would venture everything, even his last drop of blood, before he would "permit his enemies to set their feet upon his throat." Russia was the only country that stood by him. But just as he had sought a basis for peace in the meetings with the czar at Havelberg in November, 1716, and at Berlin in September, 1717, so now in his "Punctuation," which he concluded with Russia on May 28, 1718, he insisted upon his rights to ascertain for himself the opening of hostilities against the emperor and England. He would do everything and anything in behalf of peace, and despite all vexations would work in its behalf at the court of London. He therefore contented himself with the mere pawn—ownership of Stettin. And this was of considerable importance, since Sweden was about to enter into an agreement with Russia that would overthrow England as well as Denmark, which was wholly dependent upon the latter.

The king, however, was far from permitting himself to be used for such purposes, and he therefore asked the czar to permit him to act

independently, on account of which the treaty was brought to naught. The end could not be foreseen, if this was the aim of the Norse War, and if the latter was brought in connection with that which had just broken out in Spain. Even after a defeat by England in the Mediterranean, and although the emperor had made peace with the Turks at Passarowitz, Spain did not lay down her arms against Austria, but planned the dethronement of the French ruler, the duke of Orléans, in order to obtain the French crown for her own king, and was filled with strong desire to obtain the English throne for the Stuart candidate. Consequently England, Austria and France concluded that treaty which the Netherlands were also believed to join.

Everybody sought to win over Prussia's skill with the sword, but a most peculiar occurrence arrested the absorbing interest of the king. A Hungarian named von Klement revealed to him the innermost secrets of the courts of Vienna and Dresden, where a great number of Prussian court and state officers had taken part. These secrets included the imprisonment of the king, the stealing of the Prussian treasury, "plundering of Prussia on a large scale," and finally the complete dismemberment of the state. Klement asserted further that Prince Eugene of Savoy had for years employed him to aid in the

execution of the fearful plot. Everything was arranged, but the arch hypocrites were ready to negotiate with Prussia while preparing to assassinate her.

With astounding assurance, Klement offered to prove every assertion he had made and deeply impressed everyone, since in those times the most miraculous events were within the realms of possibility. In fact, he had secret papers and documents which left no doubt of the truth of his amazing revelations. The king was dumfounded at first, for was more fiendish duplicity ever known?

Three months later the statements of Klement were proved to be nothing but arrant invention, but the fact that Frederick William had attempted to investigate their truth increased his hatred of the king. Incidents for a time lent a probability to the plot revealed by the Hungarians. In January, 1719, the Viennese Alliance was concluded which was intended to guard the power of the emperor, of England, Hanover, Saxony-Poland and Denmark, together with that of many imperial princes, against the Prussian state, in order to overthrow it. Of course it was denied that anything wrong was intended, but all were in favor of the scheme and the wording of the treaty itself removed every doubt. The king was well aware

that they were looking for some excuse to attack him. He watched very carefully over his army and, despite all complaints regarding the "great armaments of Prussia," he sought to "bring himself into a position to be enabled to resist those who were hostile against him and to meet force by means of force."

Fortunately safety depended upon the allies themselves. They were wholly unable to make their military equipments correspond with their criminal intentions. The most important fact, however, was that popular sentiment in England was wholly against the declaration of war, and that the English Cabinet, angered because of the Welfic policy which their Hanoverian colleagues carried on with England's power, compelled the king to try to negotiate with Sweden and Prussia.

It was extremely difficult for the aged Ilgen to induce the king to forget "the deceits of false friends": but although deeply offended, he would not destroy the possibilities of concluding peace, and was even willing to pay the amount of money demanded.

On February 20, 1720, peace was concluded at Stockholm, and Stettin and the territory south of the Peene were ceded to Prussia, which had to pay two million thalers therefor. At last the mouth of the Oder was controlled by Germans.

and the event was of the greatest importance for the economical development of Prussia and for the entire country, though the king, as he himself declared, was heartily ashamed of such a peace. More than a year and a half passed before peace was made between Sweden and Russia. At the time when Peter tried to come into closer contact with the emperor, the latter thought he could avail himself of the opportunity offered by religious feuds in the Palatinate to make Prussia feel his anger. But Peter saw that it was the position of Prussia alone which protected him against his enemies, and after bringing Sweden back to her senses by a fresh attack, peace was concluded between those powers at Nystad on the 10th of September, 1721. According to the terms, not only the Baltic provinces to the Düna were ceded to Russia, but a position in Europe was also created for the latter which was of import for all the powers.

Most of all, however, for Prussia, and Frederick William, who had always desired to have mighty friends, but not mighty neighbors, obtained one of the most powerful of neighbors. When through the Norse War Stettin and the mouth of the Oder had been acquired for Prussia, the latter had to reckon with a strong neighbor with whom she must seek to live at

peace,—a neighbor whose whole existence had been based upon war and expansion, and who possessed inexhaustible resources.

Henceforward Frederick William sought to come into intimate contact with all the powers, and with that aim he concluded the Treaty of Charlottenburg with England, and that of Courland with Russia. In October King George came to Charlottenburg and Berlin, to return Frederick William's visit and to enjoy the happiness of his grandchildren, seven of whom were alive, while the birth of an eighth was expected at any moment. He was especially amazed at the skill of the young crown prince Frederick and his trained cadets. A more friendly relation seemed to be brought about with the emperor, although he continued annoying Prussia to such an extent that a severance of diplomatic relations took place between Prussia and the imperial court.

Once more an affair occurred regarding the inheritance in the Austrian House itself. Charles VI was without male heirs and his deceased brother Joseph had also left no male heirs. According to the decision of Emperor Leopold, Joseph's daughters were entitled to inherit the Austrian possession after the dying out of male heirs. This right of inheritance was disregarded by Charles, whose daughter Maria

Theresa was accepted as the only heiress by the classes of his provinces, who had consented to the so-called "Pragmatic Sanction."

The emperor intended also to wed his daughter to the Spanish Infante Don Carlos and to obtain for the latter the imperial crown. Thus, both the Spanish and the Austrian question regarding succession was about to be solved in favor of Austria. At the same time, however, all hope vanished of obtaining the consent of Prussia or the other powers regarding the new settlement of the question of the inheritance. Nevertheless, in 1725, the emperor concluded with Spain the "Defensive and Offensive Alliance against the Turks and the Protestant Powers," which warranted the Spanish-Austrian marriage. More passionately than before he opposed Prussia, and even wished to cede eastern Friesland to Holland.

With regard to the Magdeburg knighthood he was afraid (though only six or eight nobles out of several hundreds were arrayed against the king) to impose the imperial ban upon the ruler of Prussia, the execution of which was delegated to Sweden, Poland, Upper and Lower Saxony, and the Franconian and Suabian districts,—in short, to arouse the whole empire against Frederick William. Aided by Jesuits and the Roman propaganda, the palsgrave of Neuburg

assisted the emperor in his schemes that were inimical to Prussia, for, owing to his old age and his lack of children, Jülich and Berg would soon be inherited by Prussia in accordance with ancient treaties, whereas he desired to leave his possessions to his son-in-law, of Pals-Sulzbach.

This question engaged all the powers. None was willing to see Prussia receive those provinces, although she was fully entitled to do so. Augustus of Poland-Saxony also claimed both provinces, including even Cleves and March, and both he and his son needed the aid of the Jesuits to carry out their plans concerning these claims, as well as the inheritance of the Polish crown. With atrocious cruelty the Protestants were put to death by Augustus (December, 1724), after Jesuitic students had induced the people of Thorn to rebel.

The Spanish-Austrian alliance endangered the English and Dutch most of all, not so much because of the planned reinstallment of the duke of Gottorp as because Spain conferred enormous privileges upon the Imperial Commercial Company at Ostend in its commerce with America. Furthermore, the trade with the Levant was destined to suffer heavily through the imminent loss of Gibraltar and Minorca. The general exasperation among the English merchants, as well as the persecuted Protestants, compelled

King George to accept English polities as of greater importance than his Hanover plans, and to seek more intimate contact with Prussia. He no longer opposed his daughter, the queen of Prussia, who greatly desired the marriage of his grandchildren, the duke of Gloucester and Wilhelmina, daughter of Frederick William, with the English Amalia and the Prussian crown prince Frederick William.

Both England and France promised to assist Prussia in obtaining Jülich and Berg, and persuaded the king not to yield to Russia and the duke of Holstein-Gottorp. Finally they succeeded in inducing the king, contrary to Ilgen's view, to join the Hanoverian Alliance (September 3, 1725). But the anticipated happiness of the queen lasted only a short time, while Frederick William soon learned that he had been deceived and that he was to carry out, by means of his army, the plans of England and France regarding the Austrian Netherlands, and that the allies were far from aiding him in the Jülich question. "Yet I will not join them blindly: I must know the *pot aux roses*, and not be their *gallopin*. They wish to carry on the war by means of the pen, wherewith I have nothing in common; I desire peace or real war; if there be war, they need prepare themselves and not merely look at affairs indifferently."

On the other hand, the emperor seemed to open hostilities, incited by English politics, and to send the Russians and the Poles against Prussia. In the midst of this peril, Frederick William was consoled by England that she had "100,000 soldiers in her pockets," although only 10,000 were ready to take up arms. Fortunately, however, Prussia had to remain friendly to Russia. Peter the Great had expressly warned his successor to maintain amicable relations with her neighbor.

After the czarina Catherine had promised to observe strict neutrality regarding the duke of Holstein, and not to attack the Hanoverian possessions, a Russo-Prussian treaty was signed, on the 3rd of October, 1726. This caused the emperor to proceed more moderately against Prussia, for the 60,000 soldiers and the financial resources of the latter were of great import, and without Prussian consent the Pragmatic Sanction could not be enforced. Thus Count Seckendorf, whom the king regarded as an honest officer and of whose "well known skill and noble character" all were convinced, was dispatched to Berlin.

Delighted to be able at last to come in touch with the emperor, Frederick William went to meet the envoy. England also negotiated with him, while her plans as well as those of France

with regard to the Austrian inheritance became very clear. Seckendorf succeeded in inducing the king to discuss matters at Wusterhausen in October, 1726, and this was followed by the conclusion of the so-called "Eternal Alliance."

In vain were the labors of the ambassadors of France and England, and the sorrow of the queen proved of no avail when she saw that her marriage project was defeated through Seckendorf and Frederick William of Grumbkow, confidants of the king. This treaty was among the greatest sacrifices on the part of Prussia. She renounced her claims upon one-half of her inheritance, that is, upon Jülich, and consented to the Pragmatic Sanction, while the emperor guaranteed the cession of Berg and Ravenstein to Prussia.

True the king learned later on that he had again been deceived by the emperor, who had promised Berg to Pals-Sulzbach, contrary to the agreement. Through the latter, however, he had come in contact with "his copatron" at Dresden, King Augustus. Their much discussed mutual visits in the spring of 1728 give sufficient proof of their intimacy. The most important pact was that Frederick William, especially after the friendliness between the emperor and Spain had passed, could be convinced that it was greatly in the interest of the emperor to "have

Prussia on his side," since he could not enforce the inheritance of his daughter against England, France and Spain, without the aid of Prussia. Thus the king seemed to be assured of obtaining Berg and of seeing the empire valiantly defended, while he had made England and France hostile toward himself because of his alliance with the emperor.

King George II, who had succeeded his father in June, 1727, sorely vexed the king, and the difference between the two royal relations intensified from day to day. The most insignificant feuds regarding transgressions of Prussian organizers of armies, and even the ownership of a meadow, led George to take the most intolerable steps.

In the autumn of 1729, Prussian troops had to be organized against Hanover. But, despite the immorality of the London court, which strongly contrasted with the simplicity and honor of that of Berlin, and despite George's Hanoverian interests in eastern Friesland and Mecklenburg, where "the White Horse was to graze unconditionally" and which presupposed the suppression of Prussia, the great plans of the allies demanded the separation of Prussia from Austria. In order to obtain this, George hoped to be assisted by his sister, Queen Sophie Dorothy, who desired to bring about a marriage between

the royal children of Prussia and England. At a solemn meeting Sir Charles Hotham made this proposition to the king (April, 1730). As the plan had already brought many troubles to the royal family, it now caused more, because of the activities of men like Hotham, Seckendorf, Manteuffel, Grumbkow and others, while the differences which had long existed between the crown prince and the king were much increased.

Still the king understood the political situation. The marriage of his daughter, Princess Wilhelmina, to the prince of Wales greatly pleased him, but politically it was of no significance. Through the marriage of the crown prince, who did not seem sufficiently mature (he was only eighteen years of age), to an English princess, accustomed to luxury, Prussia became the ally of the emperor's enemies. Furthermore, the proposition to elect the princess governess of Holland and have the crown prince reside there suggested the thought of keeping him as a hostage against Prussia undertaking anything unfriendly to the allies. France was already about to occupy Luxemburg and invade Germany. Thus the king demanded first of all that England should promise not to attack the emperor on imperial soil, and should recognize the inheritance of Berg, effected in 1725.

Within several years he would consent to the marriage of the crown prince.

Despite this favorable stand of the king it seemed almost unbelievable that Sir Hotham grievously offended him personally. He should have known that this would only induce the king to seek a still closer alliance with the emperor. Soon afterward (1730) Frederick William visited the minor courts of southern Germany, recommending to them the assistance of the emperor and the Pragmatic Sanction, and in order peacefully to settle the Jülich-Berg inheritance with the Palatinate. The British gentleman was certain of success, for it was known to all that the disposition and aberrations of the crown prince had frequently roused the burning wrath of and punishment by his father, who, ignorant of the genius of his son, saw only his unpardonable faults. On the other hand, the son did not know how to appreciate the labors of his father, in whom he found only harshness and lack of tact.

Impelled by the fervor of his youthful exuberance, Frederick ventured upon a thing which caused the most severe procedure of the sovereign. With the knowledge of his mother and sister, the princess Wilhelmina, he entered into friendly relations with Sir Hotham, and repeatedly promised the king of England to marry only

Princess Amalia, even telling him that he would flee to England by way of France, and asking at the same time to be assisted in his enterprise. The king was to be accompanied by the crown prince during the journey and his flight was to be made when near the border, on the 6th of August, 1730. The lieutenants, von Katte and Keith, were to make the necessary arrangements. At the last moment, however, Keith's page, who was in the secret, told Frederick William all.

The crown prince was taken prisoner at Wesel, brought to Küstrin, tried several times, and handed over to a martial court. Europe was edified by the tragic play, while the proceedings clearly revealed the connection of England and France with the crown prince's plot. The incensed king was tortured by doubts and scruples as to what punishment should be meted out to his son. Several penalties suggested themselves, but it is not true that he ever intended to put the crown prince to death. He deprived him of the privilege of succession, and compelled him to witness the death of his friend Katte by the sword.

In November the prince was released from severe imprisonment, but was not set free entirely. He was compelled to work daily at Küstrin, from 7 to 12 and from 3 to 5, as the young-

est officer of the Chamber of War and Domains. It was thus that he was to learn his duty to the state. Such an educational punishment could not fail to have a beneficial result.

Because of these events relations with England grew more strained and Frederick William sought to come into still closer contact with the emperor, in whose favor he was ready to order his army to march in any direction except into Italy. But once more the whole situation changed, England being compelled by domestic events to yield to the emperor. Disregarding her former policy, she entered into an agreement with him (March, 1730) and recognized the Pragmatic Sanction. Thus the value of Prussian friendship was considered as of slight import at the Viennese court, although Seckendorf was ordered to assure the king of the friendship of the Hapsburgs.

The prime minister of Austria, Cardinal Fleury, was not willing to consent to the Pragmatic Sanction; moreover, he was unable to do so, since the duke of Lorraine was about to become the son-in-law and successor of the emperor, which would loosen the dependence of Lorraine upon France.

The more Prussia was alienated from England, the more boldly could the emperor proceed against the former, and the Viennese court

would be pleased if the plan of the Prusso-English marriage should come to naught. Frederick William, who was "proud of being the only imperial prince who did not succumb to the emperor, and who never would succumb to him," wedded his oldest daughter Wilhelmina to the successor to the Baireuth throne in November, 1731, and in February, 1732, he betrothed the crown prince to Princess Elizabeth of Brunswick-Bevern, a niece of the empress. He also strove to induce all imperial princes to recognize the Pragmatic Sanction, and in January, 1732, obtained what he had labored for. Only Saxony, Bavaria and the Palatinate refused to acknowledge the policy; they were assisted in doing so by France. Prussia had done all that the emperor needed. No wonder, therefore, that he utterly disregarded her now, for he could win Saxony by consenting to the election of the electoral prince as king of Poland, and the Wittelsbachs by transferring to them the Prussian claims upon Jülich and Berg.

Seckendorf, in an interview at Privort, told the king everything, thereby causing his death, as he said himself. At a personal meeting with the emperor at Prague (1732), the latter demanded from the king at the least the cession of Düsseldorf and a district adjacent to the Rhine. It was clearly shown how little the

promises made in 1728 were esteemed, because of the recognition of the Pragmatic Sanction. The king had long known that the emperor would overthrow him, but such base ingratitude seemed to be "too black." Now he knew everything, and "the meeting at Prague became the grave of the friendship with the emperor." Still it was the grave of friendship only, for the king clung to the emperor politically. Notwithstanding new difficulties which had arisen, the marriage of the crown prince was celebrated at Salzdahlum on the 12th of June, 1733. After an ambiguous royal election in Poland,—that of the aged Stanislas Leszcznyski and of the elector of Saxony—France was about to attack the emperor from Italy, as well as from the upper and lower Rhine.

Frederick William was willing to proceed against the French with 50,000 men and even with his entire army, but was it possible to disregard any further Prussian rights on the Rhine, in eastern Friesland, and in Mecklenburg, because of the probable military successes of the Prussians? Only 10,000 men were demanded: thus ran the reply of the emperor to the king's offer, and the two expeditions of 1734 and 1735 were conducted as carelessly as were the politics which had resulted in war. The king and the crown prince participated only in the first one

because the king fell seriously ill toward the end of 1734, and did not wish the Prussian heir to the throne to become anew "a witness of imperial inactivity." Frederick William magnanimously received the exiled Stanislas in his country, thus winning the hearts of the people, but in Vienna he again roused indignation, especially since all efforts to stir up enmity between father and son were futile because of the cordial relations between them.

Frederick William, however, who had only recently rejected the most tempting offers of France,—and with him the whole of Europe,—was profoundly amazed because of the conclusion of peace between France and the emperor, contrary to the expectations of all (October 3, 1735). France recognized the Pragmatic Sanction, and no longer aided King Stanislas. Austria obtained her chief desire by ceding the German duchy of Lorraine to France, the duke of Lorraine obtaining Tuscany; but this was regarded as inferior to the domestic interests of the Hapsburgs. The other courts, especially Spain, were compelled to join the Austro-French alliance, and all once more began to observe the old principle of seeking to overthrow Prussia. Why should they not vex that honest and simple king, and show no regard for the treaty of 1728? "The terror of our arms is gone, people

dare despise us," wrote the crown prince. This became quite obvious when the Jülich-Berg matter regarding inheritance came to be settled.

All the powers,—the emperor, France, England and Holland,—energetically protested against such expansion of the Prussian state. The emperor wished to render a favor to France by aiding the Bavarians in their claims upon Jülich and Berg, in order to induce Bavaria to recognize the Pragmatic Sanction. England and Holland hoped to obtain privileges in behalf of their commerce, chiefly for their colonies.

On the 10th of February, 1738, identical notes of all four powers were laid before the court of Berlin. Prussia should confer upon them,—the emperor, France, England and Holland,—the privilege of settling the question regarding Jülich and Berg, and acknowledge the cession of the territory to Pals-Sulzbach if the palsgrave of Neuburg should decease. With firm dignity Frederick William rejected the offer. It was strange indeed that the great powers should wish to settle a purely German affair, a good Prussian privilege, by means of their superiority. It was stranger, however, that the emperor himself, next to France, had brought about that event in order to obtain the consent of the Wittelsbachs concerning the maintenance of the whole Austrian inheritance at the expense

of Prussia. The king was deeply angered, "because the *puissancen* had treated him so *honteusement* and because they wished to render such *bassesse* unto him. He was too old to permit himself at the age of fifty to be treated like a dog. He would not yield till laid low, and nothing but the force of many *puissancen* should bring about submission."

The crown prince stoutly held that the entire army should immediately be dispatched to the Rhine, occupy Bergen, and attack those who dared to prevent them from doing it. "I should say unto them," wrote the son of the king, "that the king of Prussia is like the noble palm tree,—thou wilt bend it, but it soon will retain its form." Unquestionably this was true, for if war had been declared, it would have separated the sea powers again from the emperor and from France, and the Russians were so excellently equipped that they could hope to be able to resist all the powers in the event of war. But Frederick William would omit nothing that could bring about peace. A new attempt at the British court came to naught, although the English people were enthusiastic over the Prussian alliance, praising it as the "Gospel of the Hour," and although the friendship with Russia cooled, owing to the efforts of France, which was negotiating with Russia as well as with Sweden.

Despite the preparations for war the outcome was doubtful. For Frederick William peace, which he had recommended in his instruction to his successor, was the unconditional basis of his state. An opportunity was offered for it by one from whom the king had expected it least of all—France. Knowing of the general establishment of peace, Cardinal Fleury aimed to render France the supreme power of Europe. Naturally the king "would not believe it, before signs and miracles would happen"; but in April, 1739, a provisional treaty was concluded according to which France received a part of Berg, without Düsseldorf, and promised to protect Prussia.

It was contrary, however, to the fundamental ideas of Frederick William to allow France to guarantee Prussian rights, since France had, together with the emperor, warranted those rights in behalf of Pals-Sulzbach. One readily understands why the king, frequently forsaken and betrayed, regarded the entire foreign policy as "nonsense" unbecoming to an honest man, and as "devilish work" which prevented him from undertaking anything worth while. He actually did things of greater importance, which distinctly showed the influence he had exerted upon the German state.

CHAPTER VII

CONSTITUTION AND LEGISLATURE

FREDERICK WILLIAM'S character revealed itself during the destruction of Grossen by fire and the overthrow of Count Württemberg. While a child he had frightened everyone by his violent temper and his wildness, but now he showed parsimony, absolutely controlled his treasury, trained his cadets with extraordinary zeal and skill, and was straightforward and honest. These traits were accepted as hopeful by those who were not pleased with his roulette play, or his fanciful politics, influenced by the shameful paramour system of Paris which had poisoned all the German courts except that of Berlin. Rottenness and graft prevailed in the government as well as in society.

The personality of King Frederick was not affected by such a life, and he did not follow the road that was pursued by so many of his princely contemporaries. Still he was unable to keep his court and government, his nobility and

middle classes, free from all those vices. We have seen how Frederick William while still the crown prince had protested against these evils, but after the overthrow of Württemberg, he once more resumed his former rôle.

Although the king urged the continuance of reforms very little was accomplished, and the state and court governments were, according to Frederick William, "bankrupt." At Berlin he said he felt very melancholy when looking at all the tricks played on the good king, that it was the wildest household in the world and that things at Berlin grew worse from day to day. Rude and stubborn, vehement and resolute,—such was the character of the crown prince. Even ambassadors complained of his brutality. Neither his tutor, Count Alexander zu Dohua, nor his pedantic teachers, had been able to impress him with what was incumbent upon the court in the way of noble manners and an intellectual life. There were still officers and counselors who were aware of their duties. They were led by "the aged Brandenburg father," as Frederick William called Ilgen, and these men saw in the crown prince his true and real nature. The subjects, however, who had to pay the various taxes, hoped for better times after the crown had aided the destroyed city of Crossen. The soldiers who were never paid

on time despite the large income of the state, and the officers whose warlike spirit was greatly disliked at the court, expected almost everything from the new king who had fought with them at Malplaquet, and "whose entire love belonged to the soldiers."

The first days of his reign clearly showed that all had changed. Those who thought that things would not be carried forward as begun by the king, and that "the storm would pass away quickly as it began to rage so vehemently," were greatly mistaken. "The king of Prussia will be his own field marshal and his own secretary of treasury."

Such was the programme of Frederick William. Like Cyrus, he is said to have praised an army of select warriors and a good household as "the safest means of securing permanent happiness of a nation, a country, a kingdom." As he said later on, after he began to rule, he adopted a plan; he would base his entire constitution upon good economy. He demanded strict obedience, no transgression of commands, restless activity, honesty, noble character, verity, incorruptibility, and responsibility of the officer for every duty, every proposition, and every deed. Order and discipline must rule everywhere,—in the army, in the finances, in the courts, in ordinary life, in commerce and trades,

in the homes of the landowners and of the peasants as well, from royalty down to the lowest manual laborer.

Although through his violent passion the king often erred, did injustice, offended and deeply vexed people, it was a tribute to his fine nature that he frankly admitted his shortcomings, his errors and his faults.

There were two more qualities of the king worthy of mention. While he demanded much labor and activity and was not content with anything short of the utmost zeal, he himself surpassed the most active and assiduous of his officers. From morning till night, from his succession to the throne until his death, he wrought restlessly, "serving in order that they might work," as he said in the *Instruction* which he composed for his son in 1732. "The kings were born, and he did work with a sober mind which comprehended all, changing all things, putting life into all things, investing all things." And yet, never content with what had been accomplished, he once lamented that he was too tranquil and it would have been better if he had been more choleric, but the Lord would not have it thus.

"There never was," declared his son, "such a masterful mind with regard to everything; if he associated with the lowest it was because he

recognized that the whole was derived from the majority; being restlessly active in perfecting various parts, he well knew he would perfect the whole."

He began his work at 3 o'clock in the morning, composing instructions, reading reports, and answering all questions. Interviews, conferences, inspections and visitations followed, including military drills and exercises. "Everything the king is leading in person, thereby working *in publicis* on his private, domestic and domain affairs. Who sees it not cannot believe it, that One Man, no matter how clever he may be, could accomplish so many different things on one day as does this king." Evenings he found recreation in the well-known "Smoker" (*Tabaks Kollegium*), and if one remembers the coarse jests of silly pedants such as Grundling, Morgenstern and Fassmann, rather than the discussions regarding the welfare and agriculture of the state, it only proves that the desire to mock at others stands above gratitude and recognition of noble deeds and sacrificing labors.

And there was something more: no matter how grave and severe the responsibility which the king demanded from his counselors and his ministers, down to the lowest servant, his own will acknowledged *one* limit. That was his conscience, his sense of duty, his profound realiza-

tion of the truth that he was "responsible for his office before the Lord." It was in the time of Frederick William that Prussia possessed an unlimited kingdom,—a despotism, one might say, aware of its duties, rather than an enlightened despotism. And although many might blame the sovereign's stubbornness, his cruelty and the tasks which he imposed, the Germans enjoy the fruits thereof to this day.

If that despotism would be regarded in these times as an unbearable restraint upon the human will, its acceptance then was due to that remarkable life of the state, when a sense of duty and responsibility, and a devoted patriotism, to which Frederick William had brought his Prussian people, dominated everything. "Here there is," said the foreign traveler von Loën, "the high school of order and household economy, where great and small are taught to control themselves after the fashion of their leader —discipline createth people, and the Prussian discipline is magnificent."

Never forgetting his sense of duty, Frederick William had accomplished noble things, and one might say it was by the only means that was possible and just in that period. It was more important than all else that he had taught, as it was said that the sense of duty, love for work, devotion and affection for the

Fatherland, should be followed by his successor, his officers and magistrates, and the citizens of the state. The German commonwealth of to-day is based entirely upon that of Frederick William, and if the Germans enjoy a more liberal form of government, we must not forget that the former severe discipline was the most wholesome and our present condition would be unthinkable without that rigid training by the great master of discipline in behalf of lofty, whole-hearted patriotism. It was said, "Frederick William brought the entire inner government toward a high degree of human perfection by means of his correct theories regarding the jurisdiction, finances and police." "He has been the greatest inner king of Prussia."

Frederick William's first measures affected the court a great deal, but they were "those of a man who knew that the inheritance he had obtained was bankrupt, and who would omit nothing to avert total bankruptcy." Immense salaries had been paid to court and state officers, —Count Württemberg alone had an annual income of 123,000 thalers,—and on the first day of the reign the salaries and pensions amounted to 276,000 thalers, while from a total income of four million thalers, 623,861 had been used for court purposes.

With a stroke of his pen the king reduced the

former to 55,000, and his own personal income to 52,000 thalers. The valuable wines and horses were sold, the silver implements of the tables and rooms were sent to the mint, and the entire court was changed. The numerous officers, high and low, were discharged, including the Swiss Guard, the Grand Mousquetaires, the court orchestra, upholsterers and engravers, painters and architects.

The desire for titles had made it necessary for the king to introduce a number of new ones. There were 142, but the number was immediately reduced to 42. There remained of the whole splendid court only five lord courtiers, 30 real chamberlains, 31 lord cupbearers and 43 or 44 lords of the chamber and the chase. Generals were changed into lords of the chamber, colonels into lords of the court, and ministers blossomed out as courtiers. The reduced salaries of the officers, however, permitted them to live decently, but it can well be believed that "lamentations and complaints did not end," and that everybody was compelled "to walk very *piano*." All splendor and luxury were banished from the court, where only the coat of the soldier, which the king wore all the time after 1725, was highly honored. "Many a man might have thought," said the emperor to his ambassador, "that there was sometimes some-

thing wrong about the king," and it was hoped that he would again become himself, after having met with some serious troubles. Greatly indeed were they mistaken! Let us listen to the judgment of the well-known traveler, Baron von Loën, in 1718. "Thus it is possible for one to be a great king without seeking the majesty in the outward pomp and in a long tail embroidered with many colored creatures of gold and silver. If one speaks of the court of Berlin, one means almost exclusively warriors: for these alone make the royal court. The counselors, chamberlains, lords of the court, etc., are not highly esteemed at the court unless they happen to fill some military offices, and they very seldom come to the court; scholars are especially hated by the king. He had several about him, for he could not miss them, yet they are far from possessing the elegance of the soldiers."

The supreme office of the state, the privy state council, was constituted as follows in the beginning of the reign of Frederick William: Henry Rüdiger von Ilgen, secretary of foreign affairs; Marquard von Printzen, controlling affairs regarding the court, the feudal system, the church and the school; von Kameke, chamberlain; von Blaspil, minister of war, and Bartholdi, minister of justice.

Frederick William did not dismiss these men,

but made Count Christopher zu Dohua and Marquard von Printzen assistants of Ilgen, and Frederick William von Grumbkow the assistant of Blaspil, the second president of the general commissariat of war. In addition to these men there were the new field marshals von Wylich-Lottum, the duke of Holstein-Beck, and above all, Prince Leopold of Dessau, a personal friend and companion of the king, and of striking resemblance to the latter. Yet, owing to the heavy burdens imposed upon the ministers and the independence of the king, the privy state council could accomplish very little until only judicial matters were laid before it.

After 1715, Ilgen alone conducted foreign politics, and the king loved to discuss with him the rights and claims of the state, not forgetting Silesia. Only after Ilgen had grown very old were his son-in-law, Baron von Cuyphausen, and General Lieutenant von Borcke made his assistants, though the latter was reluctant to accept an office to which he did not deem himself equal. The old age of Ilgen (he had rendered service to the state for more than fifty years), induced the king to consider an entire change in that department, for, according to Borcke, "there was no officer who was such a live archive as was Ilgen, acquainted with all affairs of the Prussian state, who was endowed by God with vivacity and

penetration, able to imagine and fully understand a thing, who had served from his early youth for about 56 years without interruption, and who had witnessed all the great revolutions that had occurred in Europe. And as the royal House had participated in them either *directement* or *indirectement*, and as he had also taken part in them, everything could be accomplished notwithstanding the immense difficulties with which they had to reckon."

The king had to meet the unsurpassable skill of a single man by means of a new system. He discussed matters with Ilgen at the latter's estate, Britz near Berlin. Ilgen regarded only the king as able to conduct foreign politics. "I do not want to flatter Your Majesty"—this Frederick William would not have borne nor had the aged Ilgen any reason to do it—"but this much I must tell, that I place the very greatest confidence in Your Majesty's dearest person; the Lord hath endowed Your Majesty with reason and a remarkable memory far above Your Majesty's age." The king had used incredible efforts in order to acquaint himself with internal and foreign affairs, and even amid the greatest difficulties he adopted valuable and reasonable plans, and had been endowed by the Lord with the talent of speedily recognizing the *fort* and the *faible* of individual officers.

Only one month after Ilgen's death the instruction was completed according to which two ministers—Borcke and Cuyphausen (the latter being displaced by Grumbkow's son-in-law Henry of Podewils in 1730), assisted by two secretaries, that is, active counselors,—Canngiesser and Tulemeyer,—were to control foreign affairs. In addition to them, Otto Edler von Plotho was also connected with the wofully confused imperial affairs as minister, though without actually belonging to the department, which soon came under the control of the minister of justice. The king regarded it as of great importance to train young men and to educate talented individuals to fill the offices of the former counselors. Ilgen held the same view, but it was not until 1739 that the plan was carried out and all ambassadors at the various courts were assisted by secretaries, who were thus taught diplomacy.

With regard to foreign affairs, the king discussed matters with his cabinet only orally at first. The method Ilgen had recommended to the sovereign was "by words written *ad marginem*" when called upon to decide concerning applications that had been sent to him. These "Marginal Orders," which were very numerous, became famous chiefly because of their sarcasm and prove that the king was

greatly pleased with the procedure. Still it was impossible wholly to avoid the use of written notes, and in this respect the ruler made use of the privy financial counselor Boden, and afterward of Samuel von Marschall. Both became ministers later on, their office, however, gradually developing as the cabinet of the king.

Even those who censured the sovereign praised his creation, the Prussian army, as an extraordinary achievement. The immense growth of the force, which numbered about 80,000 men at the time of Frederick William's death, was an impressive proof of the Prussian power. All the same many sneered at the army. The "Long Fellows," from whom the king organized his "Potsdam Giant Guard," cost enormous sums, sometimes more than a thousand thalers for one man, but were ridiculed. The people forgot that this was not merely the fancy of Frederick William, but that tall men were regarded in those times as the ablest soldiers. Such, for instance, was the "Yellow Regiment" of Count Ruthowsky in Dresden, which was composed only of tall fellows. People complained of the brutal treatment of the troops, losing sight of the fact that corporal punishment was in vogue among civilians, and that it played an important part with all armies of those times. The troops were made up of the

outcasts of humanity, and every ne'er-do-well who could not earn a livelihood, every libertine tolerated by human society, was accepted as an ordinary soldier, and it was necessary at times to punish them. Yet Frederick William loved his "blue children," and although the discipline was cruel, it was not arbitrary nor illegal.

In July, 1713, the king issued new war edicts according to which the ordinary judge, the auditor,—and every army had such presiding officers at court,—was required to undergo an examination before he could obtain his office. Inevitably desertions were numerous, but they depended upon the individual army, for each consisted of men who either loved or hated their regiments, according to the pay they received or the punishment to which they were subjected.

The soldiers were paid better and treated more kindly in Prussia than anywhere else; they had greater freedom than men of other callings, and by establishing schools where every soldier could learn to read and write and was obliged to study arithmetic and the gospel, the king highly improved the education and morals of the people. The great military orphan asylum at Potsdam upon which immense sums were expended took care of the orphans left behind. Several years after the death of Frederick William, a famous author declared that the

soldiers of the Prussian armies would not take up their former callings even if they were offered threefold salary. They regarded themselves an integral part of the Prussian army and were proud to belong to their regiment, with its economy, its own preacher, auditor, teacher, cashier, and its master of provisions.

Even the military drill, exercises, and skill of the soldiers were condemned, Prince Eugene being at the head of the group of critics. As the uniforms of the armies were begun by the Great Elector and perfected by the king, so systematic exercises were introduced by the two "masters of exercises,"—the king and Prince Leopold. The former displayed a zeal and energy at Potsdam and at the Halles which amazed everyone, gave courage and self-confidence to the soldiers in battle, and "created that spontaneous power which was destined to conquer and maintain Silesia."

There were complaints that the soldiers were preferred civilians. They were not only highly esteemed by the king, but the generals were placed at the head of the government and the officers used in almost all its branches. The lieutenants were regarded as perfectly competent to fill the position of subalterns. Furthermore, the soldiers could be utilized in any form of government, whereas the civilians lacked spe-

cial knowledge and education. On the other hand, the king omitted nothing to make the respective privileges of the civil and military governments clear. In this respect, as well as with regard to recruiting, the "lover of anecdotes has sinned more than any comparing historian of law has investigated."

Nothing, however, could be more truthful and to the point than the remark of the king with regard to the vile scorn raised by the degenerate courts with respect to his "playing soldier." His "expenditures and his activity in behalf of the army were only for the benefit and the welfare of the state, while those courts spent fabulous sums for the most frivolous and dirtiest things." He regarded it as absolutely necessary to have a permanent and sufficient large army in readiness at all times to defend his land and his state, and by inculcating discipline, obedience and a rigid sense of duty in his soldiers, by making from the wild recruits of Frederick I a patriotic, that is, a continental army, led by native officers, he gave to his state the inherent means of resisting the severest storms.

As a first step, Frederick William abandoned all kinds of militia, for only a permanent army could suffice for his purposes. He was also compelled to collect troops, like anybody else at that time, and is said to have employed a

thousand officers for that purpose. As early as 1714, however, he abandoned recruiting by force, since it had a marked deleterious effect upon industry, agriculture and the population. He usually confined his efforts to foreign countries when recruiting, thereby causing many difficulties with those countries, and the foreigners were never ready to desert. The king therefore permitted his noble colonels to induce the inhabitants of their estates to enlist in their companies, to dismiss them after having trained them and to call them to the colors for a period of only two months in the autumn of every year.

This was the beginning of the taking up of arms by the people. It caused numerous feuds among individual officers and was simply a necessity without any lawful basis. But the idea of making from the people an army that would have to defend the Fatherland was Frederick William's inspiration. In an edict of 1714 he talked of "the sovereign and lord of the country unto whom young men because of their birth and the commands of the supreme God were compelled to render service," and another edict of 1733 regarding the duty of the cantons contained the statement that all the inhabitants had been born for the army, and only a small portion of the educated class was to be excluded.

The country was divided into cantons, and every infantry regiment obtained 5,000 places for recruiting and every cavalry regiment 1,800. People were "enrolled" in the cities and in the villages of the landowners, and every year the needed number of soldiers was obtained; those who had been trained were given leave in order that they might pursue their former callings.

In this way, and through the innkeepers where soldiers stopped, the army came in intimate touch with the people. The red ribbon and the plume on the cap, worn by those who enlisted, became a token of the close relations between army and people. The peasant's son was filled with pride, and more than once a teacher asked a colonel to dismiss him as corporal, since he could not get on with the peasants that had already enlisted.

This close connection between army and people proved of the greatest economic value to the latter. The dismissed peasant's son brought an entirely new attitude toward life with him into his native place after having served in the army, for he had become acquainted with fundamental principles. He had acquired better habits, and—what was especially important—was not obliged to obey the commands of the landowner, for he belonged to the jurisdiction of the auditor, and it was the royal regiment,—

Francis Stephen of Lorraine, Emperor Francis I.
Engraving by F. L. Schmitner, after Painting by M. Meytens.

that is, a state office,—which gave him permission to marry. Thus slavery was practically abolished, and from the peasant there gradually developed a free man.

Of greater importance, however, was the influence the army exerted upon the nobility, who gained an entirely new basis and were partly freed from the miserable and wretched lives they had hitherto led. The former contrast between the knighthood and the lord of the country was also practically abolished. After the king had decided to change into an annual tax of forty thalers the duty of the nobility in the imperial lands to give the so-called "Horse of the Knights" to the king, there was a revolt among them, chiefly in the Old March and in Magdeburg. Neither conspiracies nor complaints before the Viennese courts were feared, and the malcontents found many allies in neighboring Hanover and in Mecklenburg; Vienna also largely aided them. But the king was victorious. True, the enrollment of the young sons of the nobles into the corps of cadets introduced by the king at Berlin, instead of two small ones at Colberg and Magdeburg, was extremely difficult and even necessitated violence in certain cases; but as early as 1722 there were about 300 cadets secured, and it soon became customary with the nobility to enlist in the army of

the king. Even though the commander in the Thirty Years' War served and was promoted with disregard of his reputation as a "chief of robbers," and even though at the time of Frederick I many obscure characters had obtained lieutenancies, this custom was abolished and only people of honor and blameless morals, both noble and from the midst of the bourgeois, were admitted.

The king also issued a special code of rule for the officers which demanded from them strict obedience, adding, however, that they were not forced to obey when their honor was offended. Thus he infused his officers with that peculiar spirit which created the chosen home of devotion, loyalty, intense sense of duty, and patriotism. Discipline and order, honesty and good economy, which the king required from the officers, the new social and political conception of life according to which the service to the lord of the country and the state now formed the highest ideal, and a true interest was brought by the trained officer to his estate, where it also created a new conception of the state.

By demanding that everything should be bought in the country, and by having the soldiers remain with the inhabitants, and finally by removing the cavalry to the cities (May, 1713), thus freeing the peasants from the heavy

burden of furnishing the food supply, the army markedly influenced agriculture, and money which the king called "the Stone of the Sages" remained in the country.

"Growth of revenues and conservation of the subjects" was and remained the design of the king from the beginning to the end. He omitted nothing in order to increase the income, to fill the vaults, and woe upon the officer who sought to do this at the expense of the subjects. To render them able to pay their taxes and to make practical use of them in behalf of the country,—upon this almost everything depended and the king called attention to the fact again and again.

The income of the state was based chiefly upon the domains and the war taxes. During the first ten years of his reign the king attempted to mend conditions without insisting upon a radical change. Through the edict of March 27, 1713, he united the various offices that existed into the so-called Chamber Government, that is, all domain taxes, the privy court chamber, the office of supreme hunter, general post office, the state vaults in the general financial directorium, upon which all regalia, especially the postal service, forestry, mintage, tolls, etc., henceforward depended. The former president of the court chamber, von Kameke, was made

chief of that office and, as the responsible leader, had to be strictly obeyed. He was assisted by Creutz, the former auditor in the regiment of the crown prince.

The governmental chambers of the different provinces were also arranged, the needed number of counselors, who were given permanent residence, were obtained, and through the establishment of the domain commissariats in Prussia and the middle provinces, a new office of far-reaching importance was created, since the commissaries were compelled to visit all estates within their jurisdiction, and to give an accurate report concerning all matters.

We have learned of the injury that hereditary renting of estates had brought upon the state. Soon after his succession to the throne, the king energetically pursued the course which he had begun in 1710. He abandoned hereditary renting against the return of the paid sums and introduced conditions so favorable that most of the leasers consented to the plan, which was fully explained in the famous "Edict regarding inalienability of the old and new domains." Whole domains were rented for a period of six years, and von Görne drew up regulations requiring the exact sum of money to be paid for the lease to be ascertained, in accordance with the real income of the estate.

In the same edict, the king prohibited the sale of the domains which he was about to acquire and those that already existed, and, rightly comprehending his conception of state and being fully aware of his royal calling, he applied the above law to the private estate of the royal family. Thus he abolished the difference between ordinary chamber estates and privy estates, and fully explained the nature and quality of so-called domain and table estates, together with their adherent inalienability, "that is, he presented the private estate of the royal family to the state."

"Here, for the first time, a princely house rose to the full height of its public duty." In addition, the king made hunting and forestry depend upon the governmental chambers, so that he introduced a better economic system everywhere. The entire income from the domains, from 1713 to 1740, increased from 1,890,613 thalers to 3,300,940 thalers,—that is, one-half of the total income of the state.

The other half of the war revenues consisted of contributions from the provinces and excise in the cities. Frederick William introduced this plan in the city of Cleves,—of course amid considerable difficulties,—so that these taxes were exacted in the whole country except Geldern. Their excellent effect upon the uniform taxation

of all subjects was also displayed here. The exaction of the war revenues was done by the commissariat in the various provinces, which were subject to the general commissariat headed by Grumbkow, and which also controlled the cities, the new colonies and the entire military governmental system. The commissariat, together with the *commissarius loci* or counselor of taxes, became the most important office for the entire government of the state. It was mostly for the reform of finances and taxes, and wholly did away with the co-regency of the classes. In all, the war revenues brought in more than the domains, and of the entire income of the state, which in 1740 amounted to 6,917,192 thalers, about five millions were used for the army, about half a million for the increase of the treasury of the state, and about as much for the citizens and the court.

As early as 1714, the general chamber of accounts was established, to control the finances of the highest two offices. It was presided over by Creutz, but was actually controlled by the king and created that splendid condition of the Prussian finances which made possible the painfully exact payments of the officers, the huge expenditures for the army, and the establishment of a treasury of the state. This amounted to 8,700,000 thalers in 1740, excluding the assets

in the vaults aggregating half a million, and the silver implements in the royal castles representing a value of about a million and a half.

Owing to the varied business of the commissariats, the chambers frequently competed with them, especially after excise was introduced in the province. These competitions grew more violent from day to day, and could not possibly be avoided, despite the *principia regulativa* drawn up by Grumbkow. The more the king strove to increase the income and to impose light, relatively equal taxes upon his subjects, the more he became aware of the advantages of a twofold financial government, for there was a practical contrast between the two. The chambers considered the old "privately legal and privately economic view points" important; the commissariats, however, were greatly liked by the king, constituting "the publicly legal and publicly economic view points," thus representing the difference between the old and the new times.

Naturally every feud between the two governments resulted only to the disadvantage of the subjects and the state vaults. Disliking radical changes, the king pondered over the question for a full year, and corresponded from his hunting castle Schönebeck, whither he had betaken himself, with the prince of Anhalt regarding the

best method of settling the question. It is probable that the prince advised the king to unite both offices; for the latter wrote that he had carefully considered the prince's proposition regarding a combination of the commissariats and chambers, and was convinced that it would be more convenient for his interests. But he found that the combination would "first of all create confusion," and he therefore resolved to proceed step by step and first to combine the general commissariat with the financial directorium.

The plan to "adopt a new constitution of his state" was devised by the king himself; in December he wrote it out, and in January, 1723, it was dictated by the king to Thulemeyer, who gave it final shape. On January 19, 1723, the new office came into existence and every officer took the oath before the king. Aside from the qualities which the ruler demanded from each of his officers, such as honesty, an open mind, and above all, responsibility for every deed and every document, the entire domestic government was controlled by ONE office, directly dependent upon the king,—the general supreme war—finance—and domain directorium—which was divided into five departments, each having one secretary.

Every document submitted to the king had to bear the signatures of all five ministers, and

each minister was responsible for it, "one for all and all for one." They were asked to carry on business regularly and quickly, to begin their work at seven or eight o'clock in the morning, else heavy penalties would be imposed upon them, and not to adjourn till everything should be settled, lest anything should remain unsettled. If business was not adjusted at 12 o'clock noon, the aulic kitchen had to serve the officers with a fine dinner. At a single meeting from twenty-two to thirty-six different matters were discussed, and the general directoriums did remarkable work.

The oath which every member had to take before the king was characteristic. Each had to swear "to further His Majesty's affairs, especially the true reform and growth of all revenues and incomes as well as the conservation of the subjects in both city and country, and to avert and prevent all that might be disadvantageous to His Majesty, to all provinces and subjects. The king himself presided over it, "that he might confer upon it splendor, authority and significance."

As the central office, the provincial commissariats and chambers, were united in one provincial chamber which was divided into two departments,—the domain and the war department,—all counselors, especially those con-

nected with the central government, had to acquaint themselves with the different branches of the government, something which they were perfectly able to accomplish owing to the special order given by the king. By introducing *ascultatores* he provided for the training and education of suitable youths in the universities, and gave orders of such import that they are in vogue to the present time.

Simultaneously the general chamber of accounts underwent a change, being divided into two branches and attached to the general directorium. Every minister presided over the examination of the finances of his department and reported to the general directorium, which was to receive all finances.

After 1717, the office of the country council developed more strongly and became subordinate to the provincial commissariat and controlled all mandates of the lord of the country. That office was filled by a noble landowner and was based upon an ancient custom of the classes. The country council represented the government and gained the full confidence of the owners of the knightly estates. It became the link between the privileges of the noble classes and the monarchic power of state.

Extraordinary activity was displayed by the king, chiefly in the various instructions which he

drew up himself for all officers from the noblest minister down to the lowest servant of the chancery and laborer. "Textbook-like" these far-reaching directions are rightly called, and praised as "true models of the time" because of their uniform explanations of the formal procedure of business, as well as on account of their material legislation.

The king never thought he could do enough to control the carrying out of those instructions. Taking of oaths, regular and extraordinary reports, inspections and visitations of all sorts, double cashiers, security and revisions were employed; officers in the army, as well as magistrates, were asked to respect every detail; and the ministers were expected to know of all evils before they became public. "Nothing should be concealed and the whole truth should never be hidden before the king." He himself took care to render such things impossible. He investigated everything personally, studied it, examined, arranged, mended and decided. He traveled through his provinces annually in order to learn of the faults in the government and in society, and to seek suitable means of avoiding them.

All the organizations of offices aimed at nothing but the "conservation of the subjects," the improving of the state. The effects of the Great

War were still felt, the country and people were yet very distant from the prosperity that had prevailed before the outbreak of the terrible struggle which had lasted till 1624. The number of ruined places in the cities was still very great, especially in the Old March. As late as 1721 there were 365 at Steudal, and 191 at Salzwedel. Their number rose to 3,257 in the cities of the electoral March, to and in the country there remained vast stretches of land, once richly cultivated, that were now desolate wastes. From the outset the king strove to the utmost for increase of the population, and a new colonization of the state, and opposed the attempts of the landowners and leasers to possess themselves of deserted hides (dwellings), because the burden of the subjects of the landowners would rest upon the new pieces of territory also and the increase of population would thus be checked.

"Do thou prefer people to the greatest wealth" and "if a country is densely peopled, that is the greatest wealth," wrote Frederick William.

When one considers the low degree of civilization which thinly populated countries usually possess he will rightly judge the significance of that sentence, and will understand the economic idea of the king, who was zealous of marrying

his "Long Fellows" to tall girls. It was startling to think that only about 600 people struggled for existence on one square mile in Prussia where today more than 2,700 live on the same area of territory. Those occupants were far from being able to obtain the products of nature which it was able to offer.

One-third of the entire population had perished in the course of the Thirty Years' War, and the new government aimed to repair the awful loss. Its success in doing so must be regarded as phenomenal, for the number of inhabitants expanded by 600,000 in one century (till 1740), principally through the means of foreign settlers. Thus the loss of men caused by the Great War was again made up by the labors of the Brandenburg-Prussian ruler.

Of relatively lesser importance was the fact that the people were again enabled to utilize their natural gifts, to increase the wealth of the country, and live in accordance with the standards of men. Such also was the aim of the king and officers, and while in the rest of the European continent the most dishonest banking enterprises, such as the "Mississippi Bubble" laws in France and the South Sea Company in England, had led both state and people into bankruptcy, Frederick William held a correct attitude in Prussia regarding the existing state

of affairs in his country, and fully esteemed the prerequisites of economic prosperity. Above all, the reciprocal relations of agriculture and industry, the dependence in which the two branches of human activity stood toward each other and which are often regarded as natural antagonists, were thoughtfully considered.

We have learned how the king was able to render the domains serviceable to the state and to the general interests. It was more important to create a free peasantry from a class of slaves, and to render them productive through education in rational economy, and by means of very light taxation.

On the domains at least and in the royal villages, slavery was entirely abolished, for according to one of the issued edicts, "the king had considered how noble a deed it would be if the subjects could boast of freedom instead of slavery, if they could make use of their property, pursue their vocations with zeal and joy, and if they could be assured of their home and their hearth, their fields and their belongings for themselves and their posterity, at present and in future times as well." Such a measure, although necessarily confined to the domains, as well as to institutes of the army, also influenced the subjects settled on the estates of the nobility and those living in the cities.

The king made laws concerning the latter two classes, and on April 9, 1738, issued the well-known mandate which prohibited the corporal punishment of the peasants and threatened the violators with prison and death. He rigidly punished soldiers who committed misdemeanors against peasants during their march or on their furlough, and threatened severe penalties upon sublieutenants and ordinary soldiers as well as upon officers, of whom he thought that "they would not be capable to maltreat the poor peasants and subjects without any real cause." He prohibited the selling of the property of the peasants at the non-royal offices, and ordered the chambers to "see to it that no one of the vassals of the country from the margraves down to the lowest, whosoever he may be, dare deprive a peasant, without any weighty *raison*, of his belongings."

Thus these hitherto downtrodden people were protected against attacks upon their property, and conditions were made to encourage useful agriculture. The chambers were asked to pay attention to the character of the leasers of domains upon whom mainly depended the weal and woe of the peasant. Under the supervision of the commissariats those "officers" had done excellently.

The king further arranged that it should be

ascertained how much the peasants owed their landowners, and although he was not wholly able to solve the legal complications he opposed the oppressive extortion of the peasants through an edict according to which they should be compelled to render service to their masters for only one day annually. Of course the king could accomplish his aim only gradually, and if the economic fetters of the peasants were broken on the royal domains, it was of far-reaching significance, since more than one-third of the entire estate was the property of the state.

The tilling of the soil was one of the many branches in which the great economist of Prussia took deep interest, and which he understood well. He was restlessly active in behalf of "meliorations," he knew which fruit would best suit the ground, and took care that it should be planted. The feeding of cattle and especially of horses, the fertilization of the fields, the raising of hops and orchards, the growing of mulberry trees for the silk industry, the protection against foreign competition, the establishment of markets where products could be sold, the providing of royal granaries, their influence upon the prices of corn and wheat,—everything which was connected with the soil, the king thoroughly studied. The chambers had to report to him fully and regularly. He drew up

rules, laws and exhortations, and set examples about everything, investigating with the unquenchable zeal of his soul, and thoughtfully watching the carrying out of his plans.

The income was to be increased and the domains enlarged by means of suitable sales, yet attention was always directed to the fact that the subjects must be treated well and aided in every respect, and "there should be adopted no rule which could render the life of the citizens unbearable." In order that the burdens might be borne by all alike, new matriculations were introduced for exacting the contributions, and equal classification and quotation was aimed at everywhere. Very high taxes were imposed upon foreign fruits, especially Polish, and occasionally on Saxon and Mecklenburg corn, so that the native fruits could be sold easily. In case of bad harvest the granaries were of great aid and were established in almost all parts of the country. The exportation of food supplies, however, was taxed very little and only a "bearable excise was imposed upon it."

The fertilization of the land was very important and in this respect the king set an excellent example by drying up the large Havel Falls, the so-called Rhinelandish and Havellandish Loch. It covered an area of twenty-two square miles which yielded no crop aside from a trifling pas-

ture in the hot summer, and served only as a shelter for numerous water birds. The king was determined to utilize this piece of territory, which was almost as large as many a German principality, and despite the difficulties of those who took part in the enterprise (52 localities and 62 major and minor landowners), he completed it, aided by the lord huntsman von Hertefeld, Minister Katsch, General von Gersdorff and Chamberlain von Fuchs.

The gigantic task was finished within seven years and at comparatively little expense. By means of two big dikes, one leading to the Havel, the other to the Rhine, and with the help of numerous other dikes, their length amounting to nearly seventy miles, the Loch was dried and the entire plain prepared for regular fertilization. On the estate of the king, which had been enlarged to 15,000 hides through purchase, the model farm of Königshorst was founded and exerted an extensive influence upon the feeding of cattle and the preparation of butter after the Dutch fashion. All the daughters of peasants were taught for two years in the art of farming, the use of milk and the making of butter and cheese. The king obtained large profits from his own estates, and the profit to the country was inestimable. The system which prevailed on those domains greatly in-

fluenced and improved that of the estates of the nobility.

Better economy and the increase of the finances of the nobility formed a most beneficent substitute for the loss of the privileges of the classes, and so did the service in the army of the king. Love for the plain, simple nature of the citizen which Frederick William very frequently displayed was not due to his prejudice against the nobility. He was deeply vexed when he was forced to do financial damage to "the loyal nobility" by a law forbidding the exportation of food supplies. All public duties were performed by his officers, who were employed solely because of their ability and knowledge.

The further the introduction of indirect taxes progressed, the more did the privilege of granting taxes vanish, and with it the control of the taxes by the classes and the country diets. Inevitably protests were raised, and often the king was asked to call a new country diet; but he saw in them the "consuming of considerable sums." Still he occasionally called them. Eastern Prussia and Magdeburg objected most vigorously. We have spoken of the latter, but still have to refer to the former. The most essential thing was that the king gave to the nobility a new basis for its existence and a new field of activity for its political privileges, which

had become impotent and harmful to the nation. Thus he obliterated the contrast between the lord of the country and the nobility. Henceforward the latter vied with the lord regarding the services to the people, and in devotion to the state. At last nobility had found a position worthy of itself. Through many sacrifices of blood and treasure, it has understood how to maintain that position for all time.

The king's government was of far-reaching importance to the cities. The Great Elector had already attempted to better their conditions and Frederick I had also done his share to stamp out the moral rottenness and corruptibility in the city governments. Partial reforms in several cities were all that had been accomplished. Frederick William succeeded in bringing about a change for the better through his commissariats and special commissioners. It should be noted that, on the whole, the cities were not much smaller than today, and the population of those in the electoral March in 1740 amounted to about forty-four per cent. of the whole population. Thus Prussia was no longer a mere agrarian state with thinly populated cities, but there was a considerable contrast between the individual territories; in Cleves one city occupied 1.3 square miles, but in Prussia 12 square miles. It was evident that the weal and woe of more

than one-third of the subjects were of essential importance to the state itself. The constitution as well as the government of the cities was almost entirely of such a nature that neither could possibly prosper.

Almost everywhere offices were filled by a few families, causing confusion and checking the carrying out of their plans. These offices were often obtained through bribery and corruption; the sons of the occupants became members of the college of magistrates, of whom there was an immense number; Berlin, for instance, had 1707, with 75 mayors and town counselors.

The system of changing the presidency in the council and the other offices made control impossible, and the execution of all business was continually postponed, while those who had the "writing book" in their hands enriched themselves, it being customary for the resigning chamberlain to give a booklet and a box to his successor. The procedure of business was wretched and was grossly abused by greedy mayors. The older counselors secured extravagant salaries, which were considerably increased by devious methods. It frequently happened that certain "senators," when in need of money, asked the tenants to pay their rent before it was due; in such cases their notes were received by the city cashier as the equivalent of actual

money. Immense contributions of field products were claimed by the "lords"; they demanded for themselves the city buildings, the game shot in the city forests, the fish caught in the seas and rivers of the city; the income from the forests, all field products of the city villages, the horses and the carriage of the city for their private use; the most precious products of craftsmen, a commission whenever they let city stores; in short, they snatched at everything which could help to fill their purses. This outrageous graft was regarded as the special privilege of the "lords."

Often the members of the city council refused to accept the corn and wheat from the city estates on the day they were due, in order that they might, in time of bad harvest, receive all the corn from the city granaries and sell it at exorbitant prices.

There were banquets and carousals on every possible occasion at the expense of the city, which owned precious table wares that were devoted to that shameful purpose. The accounts preserved from Cleves show that several hundred thalers were spent for almonds, raisins and candy during one year. The lords did not blush to make presents whenever they attended weddings or christenings, and charge their cost to the cities.

The bourgeois had no privileges whatever, and if they sometimes had representatives in the city council, they lacked all knowledge of business, and "sat only on square benches as mere puppies," while the lords who sat at the *table d'honneur* declared the verdict. Such lordships of a few families made it difficult for foreigners to become citizens, to take part in commercial enterprises, or to enter the guilds. The citizens, who were nearly all tenants, were not permitted to pursue any profession, nor to participate in the legislature of the city. The jurisdiction of the cities, which was assumed by the council or the mayor himself, or by a criminal court, was carried on in the most shameless manner. The inability of the judges, the crudity of the law, the uncertain, arbitrary forms of trials, the exorbitant fees that the lawyers demanded, and their unscrupulous cleverness, made a lawful procedure in court impossible, and if there were actual judges they were nothing but subservient tools.

The police system was equally disgraceful. The counselors assisted each other in every respect, and no market, fire, or building commissioner made any pretense of fulfilling his duty. There was no need of complaints regarding false weights, dishonest measures and underweight bread, secret slaughtering of unfit animals,

ghastly uncleanliness, lack of fire engines, with a greater lack of firemen, high taxation and open disregard of the laws concerning buildings; but the court made no attempt to improve the conditions. At Königsberg, where an association of firemen existed, only the members of the two noble guilds,—the merchants and brewers,—were admitted to membership. For how could the lords tolerate the poor among them? "Let him be cautious to protect his host when afire."

The magistrates had an excuse in referring to the fact that the jurisdiction in many cities was upset, and the soldiers, the officers, the members of the French colony, and the members of the university enjoyed special privileges. Thus, there were as least twenty different jurisdictions in Königsberg. The malefactor was frequently tried at the corner of a neighboring street and removed from sight of the city supervisors.

The magistrates, however, usually did nothing, and the finances which they controlled entirely could not have been more ill-arranged. There was no order or system whatever; the few bills and documents were superficial and in hopeless confusion. The magistrates had the effrontery to claim the right to avail themselves of the estates which lay near the city and which belonged to the latter, but they held that it

had no ownership in them and that they were the property of the chamberlains and the magistrates.

Often, even in Berlin, the members of the council possessed themselves of the city property "at the paying of a very low buying-pretii." Books were seldom kept, estates which belonged to the cities, as was the case at Berlin, were let upon the most thievish conditions, bribery and corruption playing an important part, as was the case with the city buildings, in which many a pleasant leaser was totally exempted from the payment of rent.

The peasants in the city villages were painfully oppressed by taxes and services, and in no wise did the harvest correspond to the comparatively rich estates. In addition to the state excise, various indirect city taxes were imposed, the officers utterly disregarding all law and acting most arbitrarily. The privileged class, whose power rose from day to day, imposed very heavy head taxes upon the poor and oppressed them by a ruthless exaction of the taxes. At Cleves-March, for instance, wheat sold thirteen times as high as at Berlin, while rye was four times higher, when there existed no state excise.

The crushing debts of the cities, especially at Cleves-March and most of all at Halle, were of

the most malign influence. It was almost impossible to pay interest; many cities failed; in the Rhenish provinces, for instance, the citizen was compelled to pawn his valuables outside of the town. In short, the entire city government was "full of corruption and fraud" of the worst nature, a foul stable which had to be cleansed by powers superior to those of Hercules.

But the Prussian possessed a hundred hands, like Briareus, and it was one of the most remarkable of achievements that Frederick William was able to establish a clean and honest government in place of that unclean and degraded one. It was that government which later on made possible a freer development of the city constitution and the creation of integrity among the citizens.

Attention had been directed long before to the corruption which existed, and good men had exalted the Great Elector for his attempts to bring order into the chaos of Brandenburg cities. The old saying was recalled, that public welfare was the supreme law, that privileges against public weal should not exist, and that it was the duty of the state to control such utterly depraved cities and the latter should tolerate that control, "in order to drive away the leeches which sucked the blood from the veins of the citizens."

Here again the king was active; he introduced no new system but proceeded step by step; where weeds grew the rankest he uprooted them. He first nominated special commissioners to investigate matters, or he sometimes asked provincial commissariats to do so; years passed, and many commissions had to be chosen, till the whole misery was revealed; this was followed by royal commands and regulations, especially in the cities of Berlin, Brandenburg, Frankfort-on-the-Oder, Magdeburg, Stettin and Königsberg. The difficulties seemed unsurmountable, especially in Cleves-March and in the deeply involved Halle. The main obstacle lay in the fact that the state excise had to be introduced with the renewal of the city government, and with admirable courage the Pomeranian director of excise, M. Durham, exposed, arranged and regulated all debts, notwithstanding the hatred and accusations leveled against him.

After the investigation had been completed the cities were controlled by the provincial chamber, represented by the much dreaded, severe and highly efficient tax council. The latter was compelled to travel to the nine or twelve cities of its district twice every year, and to direct their government. It was the council which once more brought order and cleanliness into the cities. It was greatly aided by the

military power, for the special commissions were frequently headed by generals, and the entire lower service was performed by former sublieutenants or such as were still in the service. No doubt such dismissed soldiers were often guilty of injustice and cruelty toward the citizens, but the king could not intrust others with their offices. The soldier was accustomed to discipline and obedience; he refused to be bribed and revealed all sinister business, while the magistrate refused to employ additional minor city officers.

The first inspector of excise in the cities had to be a sergeant as was demanded by the king, and the same was true regarding the captain of the police, an officer of great importance for the tax council. The latter drew up rules governing the finances of the cities and their courts, the various members of the office, and the entire police system. Weights and measures, street cleaning, charity, dealing with beggars, government of churches, schools and hospitals, the control of firemen, slaughtering of animals, bakeries, breweries, midwives, public bridges, undertakers,—everything was controlled by that council and reformed by it. The regulations regarding taxes by the various classes were dispensed with, the cities were once more brought in contact with the state, and the control of

taxes led the ordinary man in the cities to give his confidence to the government.

The "Means of the Council,"—that institution upon which was based the connection of several families with the council,—was totally abolished, all positions became permanent, the counselor still maintained the privilege of making proposals to the king or the commissariat after the death or the discharging of a member. A new member was elected by the king himself or by the royal office, and he was obliged to take an oath to "be faithful and obedient unto the king, to act in such manner as behooved a good and faithful servant."

It often happened, especially in the larger cities, that the king himself chose a mayor from among the commissioners of taxes. The formerly large number of members of the council was considerably reduced, twenty seeming to have been the maximum number that the king would admit. At least one-half of the members were to be taken from the merchants and craftsmen, but mayors, syndics, and secretaries had to be acquainted with the law, particularly the vice-mayor, who presided over the city court. The letting of estates which belonged to the cities, as well as the taxes exacted from them, were definitely regulated. The chamberlain who supervised the finances was required to

give security and was assisted by a special chamber comptroller. In addition to the council, there was a committee of citizens which also had control of the finances, and besides the committee there were the tax council, the provincial chamber, and the general directorium. All documents had to have the personal signature of the king.

The commission of buildings was increased through the election of building inspectors employed by the city, who were to supervise all city and private estates in conjunction with the tax office. Every expenditure for a building above six thalers had to be sanctioned by the king himself. When one remembers how extensive the building was in the various cities, it will be seen that the king assumed an exceedingly difficult burden, and his labors were almost incredible. He conferred all possible advantages upon the builders in the cities by giving them the needed material gratuitously, and exempting them from taxes for several years. He rebuilt many towns that had been destroyed by fire, more beautifully than before. Thus sprang from their ashes the cities of Crossen, Köslin, Iserlohn, Kalbe, Croppenstedt, Wegeleben, Loburg, Mansfeld, Wittstock, Oschersleben, Seehausen, Aschersleben, Luckenwalde and Unna.

We know of the severe orders of the king, which compelled his ministers, generals, counselors and well-to-do citizens to build new dwellings in Berlin. Excuses because of lack of money were of no avail, and were disregarded by the king and General von Derschau, who supervised the building of houses in the capital, where the king also constructed many dwellings, distributed building material, and gave financial help to numerous persons. Friedrichstadt, which had 1,682 houses in 1738 against 697 in 1721, grew in this manner, while the population of Berlin increased from 73,000 to 90,000 between 1726 and 1740. Stettin was obliterated when it became Prussian, and Frederick William rebuilt the whole city anew. He not only reconstructed the walls, fortifications, and gates (such as the Brandenburg Gate and the Berlin Gate), but constructed entire squares of houses, both private and public.

Potsdam was also a genuine creation of the king. It was his favorite residence and his body regiment was stationed there. The parade place was the real birthplace of the Prussian army, rather than the pleasure garden of Berlin, which the king turned into a place for military drill. The body regiment was an additional reason for enlarging the city, and Frederick William greatly assisted in the building of

all sorts of houses, erecting many private dwellings himself.

The Church of St. Nicholas, the military church, the Church of the Holy Ghost (Catholic), a Greek church, a military school, structures for military drill, the residence of the commander, an ammunition factory, and many other buildings were erected by the king. It is almost impossible to ascertain how many houses which are either public or private today were due to the generosity of Frederick William.

The real cause of the rise of the cities lay in the renewed industry and activity of the citizens, for the "upright government" was only a prerequisite of that era. A number of laws concerning the craftsmen brought fresh life, order and discipline into the guilds which sprang up rapidly. Manufacturing, in the estimation of the king, was of vast importance, since "A country without manufacturing was like a human body without life, *ergo*, a dead country which was constantly *pauvre* and miserable, and could never flourish." Life was everything with the king, and he untiringly strove to bring it and prosperity to his country.

Commerce and industry had to be independent of all foreign powers, and the desire for enterprises, the mercantile spirit, the mercantile knowledge and capital, must be created first,

since all attempts of the Great Elector had failed in that respect. The expensive implements which were used at the court in the time of Frederick I had to be imported and did not benefit Prussia in the least. Kraut, and later on Görne, successfully carried out the will of the king. But though much was due to those men, all things were accomplished upon the advice and the suggestion of the sovereign himself.

During the period from 1713 till 1723 numberless edicts were issued respecting commerce, the toll system, the excise, the wool markets and its exportation, upon which were based the commerce industry of Prussia throughout the entire century. Naturally it had to be largely aided in those times, and the newly chosen inspector of factories and the so-called show masters, who enforced obedience to the edicts regarding industry, were of extraordinary importance.

The importation of foreign products was made difficult through a heavy tariff, and the exportation of raw materials, especially of wool, was almost prohibited. Because of the simple wants of the households a number of manufacturing concerns closed, and as early as 1713 the king ordered that all necessaries for the army should be bought in the country itself and that he

should be informed whenever this could not be done. These orders greatly benefited the main industries of the country, such as linen, wool and the textile industry.

The most effective measure in that respect was the establishment of a warehouse at Berlin by Kraut. It was done at his own expense, but the king greatly aided him by presenting an Academy of Knights to him, and by large sums which the knights had to pay. The ruler also issued laws forbidding exportation and ascertaining the prices of wool, summoned the skillful foreign workers, and took care that the cloth manufactured in the warehouse should be sold on easy terms and in large quantities to the army and the magistrates. Nevertheless, both Kraut and his successor, Schindler, had to struggle against formidable difficulties. "Many a wicked person had hoped that the undertaking would be a failure because it is mine own work and not that of others," wrote the king.

None the less, the enterprise was a success and thousands of people obtained work and food. Of the king it was said, he had taken interest in manufacturing concerns and established the warehouse, "in order to enable the poor to earn their livelihood." Because the cloth for the army was manufactured there, "the poor easily earned their living by combing and spinning and

similar things." He demanded that "the warehouse" should find out where there were people in Berlin who did not earn their bread. To them the warehouse was to give employment by enabling them to make a living as wool combers, spinners, etc.; but "if there were people who would prefer to beg and not to work, they should be punished very severely." Nothing but praise can be accorded the king for his care of the lowest citizens and the craftsman, whose condition vividly contrasted with that of the same class of people in other countries.

These two factors, the increase in the selling of articles and the rise of the wages of many thousands of workers employed in the cloth industry, enabled the king afterward to organize the Russian Company at Berlin. This greatly benefited at the same time both commerce and its representatives, for the former was a first necessity for manufacturing. By all possible means Frederick William sought to aid it; he even meditated entering into commercial agreements with people beyond the Atlantic, and his political envoys to foreign courts and residents in the most important commercial cities were always asked "to report about all events concerning commerce and manufacturing," in order to establish new places for the Prussian commerce.

In that respect the highly gifted ambassador, Axel von Mardenfeld, in St. Petersburg, was very active. Until then the English had supplied the Russian army with cloth, but Mardenfeld succeeded, mainly because of the comparatively favorable political conditions of 1724, in inducing the Russians to import their cloth from Prussia. After much hesitation, nineteen Berlin merchants met and established an association which was to supply the Russians with the necessary cloth. The best known among them were Splittgerber and Daum, who joined the company with a capital of 72,500 thalers, but many other merchants were also allowed to join. Upon the whole, the invested capital was probably not more than 100,000 thalers. In the first year of business there was a net gain of 22,878 thalers, or more than 20 per cent., and in 1731 the sales amounted to 230,000 thalers. In addition, other products were sold in Russia, especially those of the brass factories of Splittgerber and Daum. Owing to unfavorable political circumstances in 1738, the company failed, but it had highly aided commerce. Immense were the sums earned by the little masters in the New March, and others, such as Kottbus and Beeskow, did well elsewhere. How much the textile industry improved was obvious when, in 1735, 81,955 bales of wool were worked out at

Berlin as against 34,969 in 1720, and there were 2,110 cloth makers in 1740, while in 1719 the number was 1628. How excellent was the product is shown today by the samples that have been preserved.

The silk industry, however, did not flourish, though an edict of 1716 ordered all officers, magistrates and clergymen to plant mulberry trees. In 1732 there were about 2,300 such trees at Berlin and Potsdam, which produced 115 pounds of silk. The gold and silver works of Schindler at Berlin employed 700 workers in 1714, paying them 40,000 thalers. At Berlin Clouda Pitra established a silk house and at Potsdam the Jew, David Hirsch, founded the first velvet factory. Mercerized silk, silk stockings, etc., were manufactured, and above all other houses there, independent of the help from the state, the firm of von Leyen Brothers at Crefeld flourished. They manufactured silk for sewing, silk cloth, ribbons and velvet, and sold enormous quantities.

All land and water roads were regulated with extraordinary care and the postal service was very regular. Foreign travelers repeatedly praised it. In Pomerania and Prussia, numerous offices were established, and the Rhenish-Westphalian countries were controlled by a special postal inspector.

Commerce and industry, however, could prosper only when they were protected by a prompt and honest judicial system. In this respect, too, matters were deplorable at the beginning of Frederick William's reign. In the cities, as well as in the state courts, the multitude and incapability of the judges, the variety of variously organized courts, the uncertainty of the law, the postponement of trials, the eternal litigation, and most of all the dishonesty of the lawyers and prosecutors, produced an extremely bad judicial system. For a ruler who possessed Frederick William's sense of duty this was a resistless inducement to act quickly and energetically. He was determined, so he declared, "that justice in all countries should be administered quickly, impartially, blamelessly, and alike for rich and poor, high and low." He regretted that he had to write so severely, "yet the bad judicial system cried aloud to the skies, and if I do not remedy it, I shall take all the responsibility upon myself." He protested against all propositions to rely upon the tedious documents of experts, and as early as June, 1713, was able to publish a general order and melioration of the judicial system, which the magistrates were to obey, and which was to be consulted constantly *in loco judicii*.

A codification of a general country law was

not made during the reign of Frederick William nor could it be made today, for easily understood reasons. It was strenuously labored for throughout the king's reign, and essentially aided by Samuel von Cocceji. These efforts became the basis of success at a later period. It was in 1721 that Cocceji succeeded in creating a country law for eastern Prussia. This was concerned chiefly with the procedure in court, which was of the utmost importance. At the same time Plotho, Katsch and Cocceji were occupied in reforming the chamber court and the Magdeburg laws, the procedure in court was simplified, the trials were speedily concluded and care was taken that the judges possessed the necessary education and scientific ability. The judges were to be relieved from other offices, judges and lawyers were to be purified, the lord of the country was not to take part in the trials at court, and finally the government of the judicial system was to be separated from the delivery of the verdicts, through Cocceji becoming minister *chef de justice.*

Of especial moment was the new fiscal system. Officers were employed at every chamber and court to control the business of all officers and especially those of the lawyers. In this respect the king failed in carrying out his plans, and was deeply annoyed because of such failure.

Frederick William was profoundly sincere in all things, especially in his piety; he lived, as it were, in personal communication with the one God, and not only knew that he was on good terms with Him, but even told the year since which he had begun to place confidence in that divine Being. He desired that, like himself, his whole family, his magistrates and officers of the army, and the entire state should live in devout piety.

Still Frederick William admitted that at times it was difficult for him to obey the commands of God. Thus he thought with regard to the chase, which was an indispensable recreation that he liked and practiced frequently. "If one is right pious in his faith, one comprehends easily that it is wrong with regard to many a thing, and that God demands too much from his people," he said. With merciless severity he fought the spread of immorality, and even regarded comedies as blasphemous. He tolerated only "power-productions" like those of the strong man Eckenberg; he opposed the custom of "drinking," as it was contrary to the laws of God, yet he admitted that he often wished to do it.

He paid much attention to the exercises in the church. Many churches were erected by him in the cities and the country, and in every

respect he strove to be an honest Protestant Christian, in whom there was no guile. He was above the disputes between the Lutheran and the Reformed Church, seeing in them "feuds among preachers," and was convinced that both Lutherans and Reformed could be blessed. He did not deny the greater abilities of the Lutheran clergy, and was unbiased when employing officers, giving no regard to their creed. He strongly protested against the religious feuds which were carried on from the pulpit, and in his instruction for his successor he said: "Ye must forbid all clergymen to dispute from the pulpit; ye must always aim at concord between the two creeds." He sought to reform the religious service, customary since the time of Joachim II, which reminded one of Catholicism. He also tried to abbreviate the tedious sermons, and took especial care for the education and training of clergymen.

The Catholic Church was assured of all the promises that had been made to it, and unlike other Protestant states, such as England and Holland, it here enjoyed full freedom of religion. Even after the suppression of Protestants in Thorn and Salzburg had reached its climax, and the king omitted nothing to induce Vienna and Warsaw to make an end to the persecutions, he did not go beyond threatening reprisals.

The nomination of a general vicar would have been of immense importance; it was aimed at by Cocceji and would have greatly benefited all Catholics of the monarchy, but the plan was not carried out. The number of Catholic subjects increased considerably during Frederick William's reign, and he rejoiced in erecting churches for them and in caring for their salvation. But Jesuits, "birds that gave room to Satan and would increase his dominion," "devils apt to commit all crimes," he did not tolerate in his state. He exhorted his son not to receive them, and not to protect immigrant Jews, "for Jews would ruin the Christians."

Frederick William has been blamed for his contempt of art and science. That iron era which had furnished a basis upon which he could rear an honest, moral life had no time for the adornment that art lends to life. In the king's letters to the ambassadors we hear of orders to send a copy of a famous statue and to spare no money, but we are amazed when we learn that by those statues the "Long Fellows" were meant, whom the ambassadors were to obtain without the foreign government's knowledge. Many paintings which the king made in hours of physical torture—*in tormentis pinxit* he signed them—do not suggest any innate gift, but he

desired to hear Handel compositions, and engaged a piano teacher for the young crown prince when he was only five years of age. That his favorite architecture was not wholly plain we discover from the continuation of the Berlin palace, the establishment of Monbijon Castle, the houses in Wilhelm Street at Berlin, and many other private buildings and churches.

Engraving was strongly encouraged, and the portraits of the court painter Antoine Peene, who received an annual salary of 1,500 thalers, are much esteemed even today. The supposed neglect of science was due to the confusing of the term with that which signifies docility. It was the latter that the king looked upon as useless, and the finely trained demeanor of its representatives, such as Gundling, Fassmann and Morgenstern, he knew how to assail in well-known Frankfort disputation.

Certain branches of science, chiefly medicine and national economy, were greatly furthered by Frederick William. From the academy, which was an adornment for the court rather than a place of real science, he made an institute for the training of doctors, and in many other respects he advanced the education of the masses. He paid special attention to the training of his officers at the universities, a preparation which became a necessity of their position.

New chairs were established in the universities of Halle, Frankfort-on-the-Oder and Königsberg, mainly for all branches of the government, for German elocution, engineering and mechanics. Halle became the first and most patronized university of Germany, having more than 2,000 students. Since the king needed his generals as much as his farmers and merchants, he summoned many university professors to his court for practical state reasons. Among those generals were "intelligent persons," according to the aforementioned traveler, von Löen, who rendered greater honor to science than did those "upon whom it was incumbent to do so." Everywhere the king demanded and encouraged science, upon which all things were based. In 1739, he read the philosophical works of Christian Wolf daily for several hours, and attempted to induce the philosopher, whom he had removed from Halle, to lecture at the University of Frankfort. The king accepted the dedication of the second part of the scholar's philosophy.

The monarch's most glorious achievement, however, was the creation of the Prussian public school and the compulsory elementary education provided for all royal provinces through the edict of October 23, 1717. In order to "dispense with the most deplorable condition of the

country population with regard to knowledge and deeds," he asked the parents to send their children from the fifth to the twelfth year of age to school every day during the winter, and at least once or twice a week in summer. He was willing to spend the necessary sums in behalf of the establishment of school houses and to pay the salaries of the teachers, and he induced many to assist the schools by endowments and gifts.

If there was a scarcity of teachers, and if craftsmen had to act in their places, it was the founder of the orphan asylum at Halle—Aug. Herm. Francke—who not only taught about a thousand orphans, but trained young theologians for the teacher's profession, controlled the schools, and supervised them as clergymen. At Stettin and Magdeburg, teachers' colleges were founded, and the king established a *Mons pietatis* as a school fund, and repeatedly issued edicts in order to carry out compulsory elementary education and the school reforms. He himself visited the schools and acquainted himself with the methods of teaching, so that he was able "amid laughter" to imitate the manner in which the children spelled in the classroom.

The number of schools increased from day to day, and in eastern Prussia, in the district of Königsberg, 855 new ones were founded. The

school for the poor in the city of Königsberg had about 1,300 pupils and sixty-five students of theology were employed as teachers. The success was remarkable and greatly influenced the development of eastern Prussia. It represented the truly greatest creation of Frederick William. This reform in eastern Prussia was much needed and will therefore be discussed here very briefly.

In the course of the war of 1656, the Tartars ravaged frightfully. Thirty-four thousand men were dragged into slavery, and a disease caused the death of some 80,000 inhabitants. This malady was followed by others, and man and beast hopelessly perished. More horribly than all raged the scourge of 1709. At Königsberg alone 18,000 died; in Lithuania, 155,000; out of a total population of 600,000 the victims were 235,806. There was an appalling lack of people, but the degradation and poverty of those who survived were indescribable. All human morals had been extirpated, all affection for friends and relations destroyed, and if anything was left of civilization the sufferings in the time of the Norse War stamped it out of existence. The Thirty Years' War brought less suffering upon Prussia than upon any other province, but nature and human ferocity had completed the work of Mars. The fields were barely tilled; people lived on the most dreadful food; they

raised neither fruits nor vegetables; the country was turned into marshes and swamps; the German plows had crumbled; of wind and water mills there were none in the whole land; the bellowing cattle that had survived wandered about aimlessly, and became the prey of the jackal and the wolf.

The nobility with a few exceptions were also impoverished, and lived in the same miserable conditions as did the poorest of the poor. Commerce was destroyed, and in 1704 the Königsberg merchants, who had been wealthy once upon a time, possessed no ships, and in addition the whole people were grievously crushed by grinding taxes that were unevenly imposed.

Deeply stirred, Frederick William looked upon the miserable state of affairs which prevailed after his succession to the throne and determined to give heart and soul to bettering those conditions. He had found in a native of the country, Count Charles Henry Truchsess of Waldburg, an ardent and able assistant in his plans. But all the accounts of Waldburg, the "faithful Trux," as the king liked to call him, and those of a special commission, had "to be *cachiret* before the Prussian government, until all would be *ebauchiret*, so that the people should have no time to remonstrate." Reports had to be sent secretly to the king regarding all taxes,

for in that respect Waldburg's accounts were full of abominable deceits and falsifications.

There was only one way of remedying conditions and the king sanctioned Waldburg's plan, which had been ratified by Ilgen, Creutz and Grumbkow, to introduce a general hide tax in place of all previous taxes, according to the fertility, the "bonity," of the estates; and the count was elected president of the Königsberg commissariat. By means of skillful negotiations, he succeeded in winning over a large part of the nobility, whereas another faction despised the count as "the scourge of the country" and did not cease their protests. None the less the king was willing to yield regarding the regular tax of 220,000 thalers. He did not care so much for the increase of that sum as he did for the exaction thereof. After the deputies of the classes had rejected it, he expressed his conception of the state by means of those famous words: "He firmly established the sovereignty like a *Rocher de Bronze*, wind could always be created at the country diet, yet the '*huben*' (hide) commissions went onward undisturbedly."

The commission under the leadership of Waldburg was very active, and its aim was soon attained. It was proved that 34,671 hides had been concealed and had therefore remained un-

taxed, and by imposing a tax upon them in addition to the previous 65,884 hides, and by enforcing a levy of five or six thalers upon the hides belonging to many nobles, instead of two-thirds of one thaler, the poor man was partly relieved of his burden, which was a blessing indeed for the entire country. The landowner had been deprived of a long-maintained privilege, but all his claims were examined, and thousands of acres of which he had taken possession were returned to the state. Finally he was excluded from the privilege of recognizing only native officers and judges, and of making the settling of foreigners depend upon their decision. But the major part of the educated nobility favored the king's plan, admitted the bad previous conditions, and recognized in the new position, which had profoundly changed the entire economic situation, both a loftier and nobler task. After the king had ordered the allodium of all feuds, it could be carried out successfully.

In another respect the monarch was a model for the nobility, and enormously benefited his subjects in the villages. He abolished slavery on the domains through the edicts of 1719 and 1723, pronounced the lands of peasant subjects as their free, hereditary and salable property, which was to be tilled at the peasants' own expense. And in every way possible the men

were instructed in agriculture by the chambers and the counselors of the king, as well as by the model farm of the prince of Anhalt, who had bought the large estate of Bubainen upon the recommendation of the king.

The peasants were also given plowing utensils, and received the German plow. But although only a just tax had been imposed upon them they had to sell their products in order to go onward. Remarkable things were done in this respect by Waldenburg's successor, Lesgewang, and the Minister von Grumbkow. Rivers were made navigable, canals were built, the two Frederick Channels were bought by the king, roads were built or mended, and the number of post offices increased. New markets were established, and through the removal of offices to other places—Gumbinnen, for instance, obtained the second chamber of war and domains in addition to the one at Königsberg—the building of houses, the summoning of craftsmen especially wool weavers, and the furthering of industry, a number of new cities like Tapiau, Ragnit, Biala, Stallupöhnen, and Gumbinnen were created.

Large granaries were established by the king and were to buy all the products of the farmers; the monarch finally distributed property and estates anew. Every peasant obtained two hides in addition to the cattle on the property; the vil-

lages and farms were rebuilt and wherever it was necessary the peasants were required to render service to the court for two days; the contribution of field products was displaced by the payment of specie. In short, the king introduced a social-political measure which enables us to observe the similarity between the policy of his kingdom and the *tribunicia potestas* of the Romans, which displayed the unique power and wisdom of the Prussian government.

First of all, the ruler sought to do away with the lack of people and to employ competent farmers on the estates. Valuable privileges were conferred upon those who came from all parts of Germany,—Poles were not admitted,—chiefly from Saxony, and they did much toward the development of civilization in eastern Prussia, although they met with a number of difficulties on the part of the natives. At Insterburg and Ragnit, 9,539 persons were settled as early as 1715, but there were still 645 deserted homes.

The colonization plans of the king were greatly assisted by the religious zeal of a Catholic ecclesiastical prince, Archbishop Firmian of Salzburg. Notwithstanding the repeated expulsions of the Protestants from the archbishopric, reformation had maintained itself there, so that 20,678 persons had registered in 1730

as Protestants. The archbishop treated the latter as if they were rebels and criminals, and the emperor, disregarding all appeals of the Protestant princes, sent his armies to bring them back to the Catholic Church. The Protestants of Germany were angered, but "in the case of religious complaints, all gathered round the king of Prussia."

And not in vain. After August, 1731, the king was "occupied with the preparations to open his country to his Protestant brethren, and before the end of the year the archbishop drove out all Protestants with kith and kin, with a 'go to the devil.'" Even the threats of the king to punish the Catholics in his country unless the cruelty of the archbishop should stop, and political circumstances which induced the emperor to yield, were of no effect. On February 2, 1732, the king issued the patent in which he declared he would be willing to receive the refugees, to order a commissioner to lead them to Prussia, and to pay each man four *groschens* daily, each woman three, and each child two. In April, 1732, the first 843 Salzburg citizens came to Berlin, and were warmly welcomed by the king and the inhabitants. "The manufacturers to the New March, the farmers to Prussia," the king commanded.

Most striking was the arrival of the second

group, which the king met on the country road near Berlin. He began to sing an ecclesiastical song, soon the refugees fervently joined in, and he departed after having bidden them "farewell with God." The ruler had given shelter to some 6,000 colonists, and after hearing that there were more of them, he said: "Very well, thanks to the Lord. He greatly aids the Brandenburg House. For that aid cometh only from God alone."

In all, 20,694 Salzburgers were settled at the expense of the state; 13,508 of them were placed in the province of Prussia. The majority were peasants, who obtained fields, houses and exemption from taxes for the first three years, and the necessary cattle and plowing utensils. Of course not all of the emigrants were successful farmers, but most of them were. And though a storm had done immense damage, the king lost none of his hopes. "He would not tire," he said, "and would begin things anew."

His work was splendidly rewarded. In 1739 the crown prince, who resided at Rheinsberg, the country estate he had obtained from the king, visited Prussia at the request of his ailing father, and learned at last of the extraordinary importance of his parent. Deeply moved by his stupendous achievements, he wrote to Voltaire: "In the beginning of his reign the king found

twelve or fifteen depopulated cities, four or five hundred desolate villages, and a degenerated country; now, however, Lithuania possesses one-half a million inhabitants, more citizens than previously, and larger herds of cattle; commerce flourishes anew, the country is tilled, richer and more fertile than any other part of Germany, and all that is due to the king; the latter not only commanded, but himself took part in the work, and spared no labor, no expense, no promises, and no rewards, in order to establish a shelter for half a million of thinking beings."

In the last few years the son praised his father's marvelous work and the relation between the two was cordial and intimate. There was scarcely a shadow of ill feeling. The crown prince was always desirous of consoling his father, and more and more did the king learn to understand the character and genius of his son. "He is a good economist; he loves his army, and he will maintain it; he is brave, has all talents needed in order to reign well; he possesses intellect, and all will go on well," said the hopeful king with regard to his son. There was deep pathos in the last meetings between them, and in the conversation with the successor shortly before the king's end. "Who will avenge me?" asked the sovereign concerning the "invariable principle of Austria to over-

throw Prussia"; the ambiguous position of King George of England; the uncertainty of France; and the unreliable Russia. Over that hovered not only the solemnity of death, but the heartiest confidence and happiness of the father regarding his son, and the full consciousness of the creator that his labors had not been in vain, that they would survive him, and that his Prussia would last. "But does not the Lord find grace with me by granting such a brave and worthy son?" he said to his officers, and once more he uttered, "My Lord, I die contentedly, since I leave such a brave and worthy son and successor behind."

The king intended to lay down the scepter, and Podewils was to prepare the abdication document. That, however, had not been accomplished when, on the 31st of May, 1740, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the king breathed his last and Frederick II became king of Prussia.

CHAPTER VIII

GREAT GOVERNMENT TASKS

THERE was a tremendous difference between the position of Brandenburg-Prussia in 1740, when a change of rulers took place, and a hundred years before, when Frederick William, the Great Elector, succeeded to the inheritance of misery and shame.

Neighbors in the East and North, to whom at that time the young ruler owed fealty, or even tribute, were no longer dangerous to the state. During the days of the Ascanians a victory over the Danish power on the battlefield of Bornhoefede was necessary to secure room and aid for the young military colony of Brandenburg. While formerly the state of Prussia could maintain its hard-earned independence only as long as the German sword filled the Slavs with terror, the powerful and free position of the united Brandenburg and Prussian states dates from the time when the bravery of their sons proved to their former conquerors, the Poles and the Swedes, at Warsaw and at Fehrbellin, that the

Brandenburgers and the Prussians were worthy successors of their fathers.

During the mighty warlike convulsion at the beginning of the new century, the distribution of power within the European states underwent a momentous change. Like Spain to the southwest, Poland and Sweden to the northeast of the continent had ceased to rank among the great powers, and the rulership over the internal territories of the Baltic, once so hotly contested by the last two named, had passed into the hands of Prussia and Russia, the new leading nations. Brandenburg, the state of the Oder, finally extended the sphere of its might to the seacoast; the "Maerkisch Hinterland" had taken possession of the adjoining shore, upon which it depended in an economic sense. Of German streams, around the embouchures of which the foreigners had drawn slave chains, one at least was opened; the Oder once more was free and German down to the sea.

On the bank of the Elbe the state, through the city of Magdeburg, commanded a crossing of the river and the gate to the Lower Saxony lowlands. This created, between the Hartz mountains and the Baltic, a closed economic territory which, owing to its extent and position, had a marked commercial-political importance and could exist independently.

The western boundary of this territory, the principality of Halberstadt, in conjunction with the city of Minden, formed the first pillar of a territorial bridge connecting the center of the monarchy with its possessions on the Rhine; the colonial country of Brandenburg grew, in a retroactive direction, deep into the old German homeland.

Different as to position and population, history and customs, conditions of the soil and development of culture, these provinces, scattered throughout northern Germany and thrown together by external accident, drifted apart in discord. It became necessary to replace the outward and loose connection by a higher and truer unity, to raise the idea of the state above the separate interests. Elector Frederick William succeeded only in erecting a raw structure on firmly cemented foundations; too frequently the workmen were disturbed in their efforts while toiling on the building with the trowel in one hand and the sword in the other.

The successor built the house very high and crowned it without finishing the interior; thus it soon began to decay. It was the grandson of the Great Elector and successor to his name who, with his practical ability, undertook the continuation of the work. What Frederick William did in his own peculiar manner appeared

to some people as foolishness and to others as an annoyance; the best persons of the century, however, were satisfied with his achievements. In the much maligned "ridiculous tyrant" they recognized the truly great ruler who from 1713 to 1740 solved the perplexing problem of making a lazy nation industrious, a luxurious people economical, and a bankrupt state rich.

The internal unity of the Prussian portion of Germany gained perceptibly. The soldier king, whose military eye could not tolerate anything unequal, irregular or arbitrary, recast his state officials after the image of his army, and stripped from the administration the multicolored dress consisting of small patches of scenery stitched together, and, so to speak, put the uniform in its place.

The character of this young state system was most clearly visible in his army. The old Latin saying of *militaris Marchia* had acquired new force. The change during the last hundred years was nowhere more radical than in this field. The most urgent task of the new government was the breaking up and disbandment of the disorderly, mutinous bands which constituted the army of George Wilhelm. In 1740, there was not in the entire corps of officers a man above the plane of a servant subject to a higher and stronger will. There was no first

minister of state who, like Schwarzenberg, could claim the authority of a second ruler. So the oldest and most meritorious field marshal had to understand that no authority besides that of the king was known to the army, and that all regiments were his and would remain his.

In the order and discipline of all members, the interior elaboration of the army and, above all, in its inimitable corps of officers lay the secret of rapid and decisive success. Later Prussian kings were obliged first to reorganize the troops at the head of which they gained their laurels, but the successor of Frederick William I could lead the Prussian batallions to victory just as he received them.

Thus was the Brandenburg-Prussian state constituted, the creation of three generations, capable of self-defense, well governed, disciplined and efficient, uniform in its North German and Protestant character, of sharply drawn peculiarities and with an already strongly developed self-consciousness.

Only in one respect did the conditions of 1740 invite comparison with those of 1640. Voltaire advised Crown Prince Frederick to instill in his people the spark of forethought; he referred to the pure flame of art and science to be kindled by the future ruler. Voltaire's new Prometheus, however, knew very well in what

respect the state of his fathers lacked the animating fire, the very breath of spirit. Again, as prior to the days of the Great Elector, the Brandenburg foreign policy lacked the courage of decision, "the proud prestige of initiative." Like a shadow of the limitation which he felt in his personal surroundings appeared to the heir of the crown the retarding pressure of an undecided foreign policy, discouraged by lack of success, which rested heavily on his Fatherland. In painful anger he called out: "The king of Prussia should be like the noble palm-tree.

"Se spiantare si tenta allór inalza la cima altiera." He soon had an opportunity of making these proud words true.

A foreign statesman, Count Bernstorff, called the Prussian state of those days a new monarchy composed of pieces of various kinds, but still without the full connection and necessary extent required,—a young, slim body with all the desire for nourishment generally found in that state of physical development. Suitable for the young state was the young prince, full of courage, ambition and consciousness of his own strength, determined to show himself worthy of the tasks imposed by the present and the inheritance of a great past.

In later years, when an old man, the king said

of himself. "I was intractable during my youth, like a colt without a bridle, capering over the pasture." The first impulsiveness soon wore off and more steadiness entered the restless blood; but Frederick was still in the period of self-formation when the work on his state had to begin. The crown prince's confession to his father's friend, Colonel Camas, a few weeks prior to mounting the throne, was:

> Camas, you always were true to me,
> The young bud you saw evolve;
> The weeds sprouted in the flower bush to be,
> The glaring error of my young resolve.
> You saw and blamed my many faults,
> Be always then my tutor strict and true,
> That real, purified gold may fill the vaults
> And impure dross at last get out of view.

As had been stated, King Frederick William I died on the 31st of May, 1740; on the same evening King Frederick II left Potsdam and traveled to his capital; at about 10 o'clock his carriage stopped in front of the small palace opposite the arsenal which he had occupied while crown prince.

What he had experienced during the past few days and hours,—the mild, hearty reception by the usually stern king, the important address in which the dying sovereign handed his political testament over to his successor, the public recog-

nition which the reconciled father gave of the son's lofty character, the solemn transfer of the government during the early morning preceding the last night, the terrifying spectacle of the subsequent heroic and last struggle, and the shivering tremors of the minutes of death,—all made a profound impression upon the sensitive mind of the young prince, and no one could doubt the depth of his grief when he knelt beside his father's body.

The new queen hurried from Rheinsberg to Berlin to greet her husband as sovereign. She wrote: "The king was most painfully impressed; the mere view of articles formerly belonging to his dead father always moves him anew."

Potsdam alone now belonged to the old ruler; there his dead body, clad in the blue uniform, lay in state at the city castle for four days; after which it was kept in the garrison church for final solemn interment. The aspect of the little military city remained unchanged; the giant grenadiers of the guard rendered the same service of honor to the dead as they had previously done to the living.

For Berlin, however, the past was over and there was only thought of the present and future. The king quickly retired to Charlottenburg for the purpose of escaping the crowds dis-

turbed in their everyday routine and the busy courtiers, functionaries and officers; the more he was agitated, the more he needed the customary solitude to collect his thoughts.

For years his restless and ardent imagination had painted pictures of the future, and for months it had been known that no medical art could save the dying king. A few weeks prior to his death Frederick wrote: "This is the time of our slumber and inactivity; after it is over, a different period will follow." He knew what the coming change would bring to him and what it would take from him. His removal from the court and his retirement to a small country castle at first grated on his nerves, but soon became attractive to him, when the quiet life found an object and when, according to a poem of the crown prince, the empty space in his soul was filled by self-teaching. Two months prior to his father's death, the hermit of Rheinsberg realized with sadness that the happy experience of the last four years, the first four he really considered he had lived, would remain behind at the ever closer approach of the parting of the ways. He wrote:

Oh, now so soon, with a cruel start
I am carried away by the storm.
Destiny with a relentless heart
Assumes Dame Fortune's form.

Farewell, you gentle fill of peace,
Farewell, enjoyment mild and soft,
Farewell, calm atmosphere of ease,
Without you I must keep aloft.

Again he vowed to himself that from that time on, being a king, he would have no other God besides his people, to whom he owed his love as well as his duty.

The joyful acclamations of the multitude when he entered the capital made it plain to him that high hopes were set on the initiation of his government. Quite different from the empty, monotonous youth of other princes' children had been the life of this man now twenty-eight years old. The falling out with his father, the attempt to escape, and the imprisonment in a fortress, had been watched by the world as much as was afterward his cult of the muses at Rheinsberg. A report was now current that this prince was an author, who would soon publish a book. A foreign diplomat, who had come to Berlin during the last year of the reign of Frederick William I, said: "All the world had in advance the most favorable opinion of the heir to the Prussian crown; the prince was pitied and loved by the entire nation: his personality was the people's delight."

Another diplomat spoke of the subjects as longing to see the prince on the throne, and as

comparing the father's harshness and parsimony with the son's good qualities, his soft-heartedness, courtesy, grateful disposition, reliable friendship, reasoning powers, and desire to learn.

Immediately after his succession to the throne another diplomat wrote, during the days of the "first general enthusiasm": "This prince will have a difficult task in satisfying the high opinion which the world has of him." While exalted expectations were undoubtedly set upon the new ruler, he made greater demands upon himself than anybody else. His immediate friends and the populace were rivals in doing him homage, but he was not intoxicated by the show of kindly feelings; his aims were lofty and his soul was filled with their contemplation.

The new king declared that much patience would be required and that he must be given time to limp slowly along his new road. These first steps, however, did not really show any lack of certainty. Long before, while talking quietly with himself, he had faced all these tasks now confronting him and his opinions were very clear and decided.

To make a comprehensive announcement of the new government's principles would not have been in keeping with the traditions of this patriarchal system of state; customarily a communication to the subjects was made indirectly by

publishing the decree informing magistrates of the change in rules; it contained the following sentence: "We do not desire that you should try to enrich us by harming our subjects but rather that you look as well after the country's benefits as after our own private interests, since we do not see any difference between the two." This was a written repetition of what the king had stated verbally in the following words to the assembled ministers when they took the oath: "In future, whenever my personal interests seem opposed to the general welfare of the country, the latter shall always have the preference over the former."

His personal address to the ministers did not go into details; there was sufficient occasion for doing so when attending to current administrative affairs and completing the business matters left unfinished by the preceding government. The spirited king knew how to treat certain cases so that they would show more importance and could refer to general occurrences; thus a brief memorandum took the place of a long programme.

On the 12th of June he wrote: "I am going to and fro between twenty occupations and regret the shortness of the day, which it seems to me ought to be longer by twenty-four hours. I am working with both hands, with one for the army

and the other for the people and the fine arts."

Neither the army nor the people, but the arts and sciences, had been greatly neglected in Prussia during the preceding generation. Just at the time Voltaire wrote his "Temple of Taste," it happened that at Berlin taste was thrown out of the temple, and the Academy of Sciences was obliged to pay from its meager allowances the jesters of Frederick William I. It was a cleaning out of the sanctuary when, on the 12th of June, King Frederick ordered that "the odious expense for all the king's fools should be discontinued at once." This was a territory in which a radical break in the existing conditions had to occur. What the young ruler did promptly in this case fully agreed with what the follower of Voltaire and Wolf was expected to do; it attracted public attention more markedly than any other occurrence. Voltaire once told the heir to the Prussian crown:

> Leave hypocritical shreds of virtue
> To other kings who falsely brighten;
> Let them devastate by war, they are untrue,
> But you were predestined to enlighten.

The king now confessed his ambition to become a champion of enlightenment, a peaceable conqueror, when, six days after succeeding to the throne, he wrote to the Berlin provost Reinbeck,

a friend of Christian Wolf, that he would consider the return of the man driven from Prussia a "conquest in the country of truth." The king did not intend to bring the philosopher back to Halle, the place of his old triumphs, but wished to draw him to Berlin, so as to be near him; there Wolf would have been placed at the head of the academy. Berlin, called by Voltaire the "New Athens," was to become the gathering point of the loftiest minds. This was required as much by the prestige of the country's capital as by the ruler's personal taste for refined surroundings. He said of himself: "If there is anything I desire most ardently, it is to be surrounded by learned and capable men; that is a homage due their merits and an acknowledgment of the necessity to become enlightened by them."

Thus the king at the time of announcing the beginning of his rule, by customary circular letter to the crowned heads, sent invitations to the princes of science. Not all summoned by him came. S'Gravesande, a philosopher and mathematician connected with the University of Leyden, declined, as after long negotiations did the celebrated mechanician Vaucanson of Paris and his countryman Gresset, whose brilliant humor Frederick particularly admired. Of Voltaire it was known in advance that he could not decide

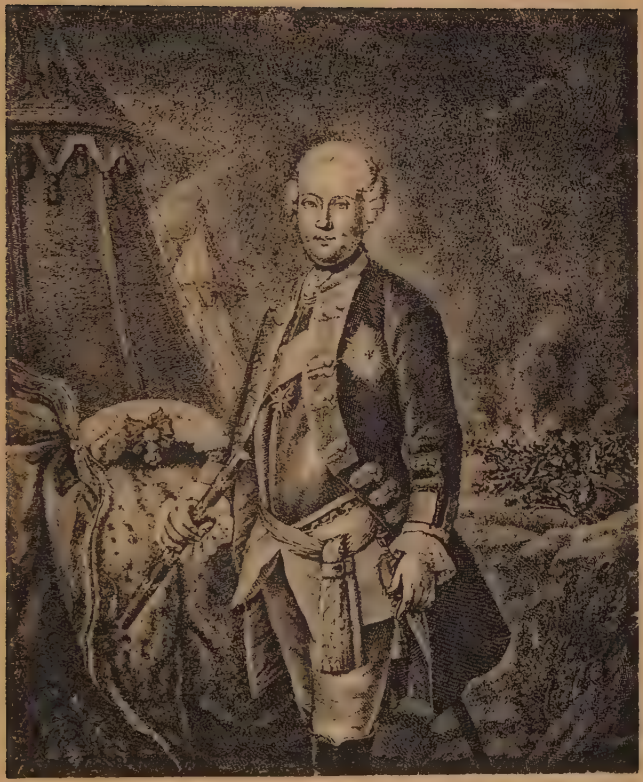
to move and be separated from his "Godly Emilie," the marquise de Chatelet. Wolf was finally prevailed upon to return to Halle, for he had learned to love his old post of academic instruction.

Thus it was not the German scholar nor the prominent pupil of Leibnitz who reconstructed the decayed creation of Leibnitz, but a Frenchman, Maupertuis, who was known all over the world through his trip of exploration to the Arctic countries and his discovery of the polar flattening of the globe. Two years previous Voltaire had indicated him as the proper man to create some day an academy at Berlin. Moreau de Maupertuis accepted without much hesitation when Frederick invited him in flattering words to give form to an academy and to graft the twig of science on a wild sapling.

Besides Maupertuis, the new academy had another prominent supporter in Leonhard Euler, a mathematician, who returned to his German home from St. Petersburg. Impatient as the royal protector was, there seemed no immediate prospect of having the solemn opening of the common work.

To create at once, however, a literary center for the capital's spiritual life, Frederick on the second day of his reign instructed the previous academician, Professor Formey, to found a

Ferdinand of Brunswick. Engraving by Martin Tyroff.



French newspaper for politics and literature. He offered his own services as a collaborator and empowered a book dealer, Haude,—who was selected as publisher for the "Journal de Berlin," which was to issue its initial copy at the beginning of July—to start at the same time a German paper, the "Berlinischen Nachrichten." It was to be of a somewhat higher type than the "Berlinische Zeitung," published by a book dealer named Rüdiger. He also gave orders to the effect that the non-political part of the paper should not be subjected to the censor because, as he explained to his cautious minister von Podewils, he was resolved to attempt to secure freedom of the press; gazettes, if they were to be interesting, must not be handicapped.

A new home for arts was also founded in Berlin. The great demands of the brilliant days of the first king for sculptors and painters were not made by the second; only portraits seemed to be desired. The celebrated Antoine Pesne of Paris who, in 1713, when a change in rulers took place, was confirmed in his position as first painter to the court, after a considerable reduction in salary, was in the habit of depicting its ladies in such flattering colors that they could hardly be recognized, while Weidemann from Brandenburg, through the military, stiff attitude of his figures and his low prices, earned the

king's favor. Weidemann, however, held together throughout this iron age the meager remnants of the academy of art, which was under his management. The dramatic muse was banished because Frederick William regarded all comedies and masquerades "as sin." He permitted only temporarily the exhibitions of Eckenberg, the "strong man," with his company of "comedians, rope walkers and jumpers," and some "honest things."

Now occurred what the old king had feared and prophesied. The purpose of building an opera house was made known, and the erection of the art edifice, as well as the resumption of the building plans by Eosander von Goethe for the extension of the castle at Charlottenburg, was intrusted to the reputed master, whose superior talent had been demonstrated when the castle at Rheinsberg was enlarged and redecorated. In August, 1740, Georg Wenzel von Knobelsdorf set out on a new journey to continue his studies. He had been to Italy, but now went to France and the Netherlands with the intention of perfecting his art by means of classic models. At the same time, Frederick's leader of the orchestra, Graun, provided with liberal sums of money, journeyed to Italy for male and female singers, while through Voltaire the actor de la Noue in Paris received instruc-

tions to gather and bring to Berlin a complete company for tragedy and comedy.

Frederick, while still crown prince, looked upon the state of arts and sciences as a sextant by which to measure the material development of a country. He claimed that prosperity, wealth and happiness were the first requirements for the perfecting of flowers which " thrive only on fat soil and under a clear sky, while they decay in aridity and northern storms."

So far these foundations of spiritual culture were very restricted in Prussia. Frederick William was undoubtedly solicitous for the welfare of his subjects; nobody acknowledged this more gratefully and cheerfully than his successor, but the means at hand did not go very far. Furthermore, the old king, through the harshness with which he enforced that which was good and useful, cheated himself of the best part of the gratitude for his benevolence. Just before his death, after refusing for a long time, he opened the state grain warehouses so as to afford a lower market for the bakers during that year of high prices; but while such a boon had long been hoped for, the credit for it went to his successor. Through God's kindly and just management, it was the young man's privilege to practice the really human tasks of his princely calling while still on the steps leading

to the throne. On this subject he had previously uttered the following beautiful words: "It is a prince's duty to assist; just as the heart receives the blood from all parts of the body and returns it, so the prince demands faithfulness and obedience from his subjects, returning to them, in exchange, affluence, happiness and bliss." He enjoyed pleasant surroundings and cheerful companions, and vowed with glowing enthusiasm that his supreme effort in life should be to make every one of his subjects "cheerful and happy."

This intention was made public by circular letters to the authorities and, even while still crown prince, he had devoted much thought to the problem of making a nation, without being able to supply wealth, as delighted as a poor man can be while assisting at a brilliant fête or an elevating spectacle, forgetting his poverty through the great events that charmed his fancy. While the heavy step of Frederick William resounded on the pavement in front of the castle everybody was in the habit of fleeing from him, and his appearance near an inn caused such fright that the most innocent guests left the table and scattered like so many criminals. It was a most unusual sight for the inhabitants of Berlin when, on the first Sunday of his reign, which happened to be Whitsuntide, the new

ruler drove through the streets in the afternoon and had money scattered from the carriage among the crowd. It made nobody wealthy and was not repeated on subsequent drives. The state's limited resources would not permit an alleviation of the inhabitants' poverty by liberal arrangements, nor allow any reduction of the heavy taxes.

Frederick, however, by his affability, made the attitude of the downtrodden people a little more friendly. Since the olden times, the small owners of country property in Brandenburg had been in the habit of brewing their owr "home drink" during seedtime and harvest, free from taxes, until a few years prior to this period Frederick William forbade this private brewing in order to prevent excise irregularities. The new king's name quickly became known in the humblest cottages when the modest people were promptly permitted to brew their beer.

This was the first of many changes which gave the new ruler the honored title of "peasant-king."

While in his heart Frederick despised the "great nuisance of shooting festivals," he restored the privilege of forming shooting societies which had been revoked by his father, and wherever in Prussian cities the honorable citizens crowded the shooting stands they were sure to acclaim

the ruler who had once more granted them the pleasure of practicing the manly art.

King Frederick also offered richer gifts to the city communities. He declared himself the protector and promoter of their commerce and industry. In 1740, the latter was still in its infancy and the commerce of the country was less developed. Frederick never lost his interest in these matters from the time his attention was first directed to them at Küstrin by the bright and well-informed Hille, who bore the title of "Kammerdirektor" and discussed commercial-political conditions while still at Rheinsberg. Frederick formed personal connections with representatives of the business world; Gotzkowski, a young Berlin merchant, had to make a full report to the king on his return from the fair at Leipzig. Afterward, Gotzkowski was also received at Charlottenburg, where the king reminded him of the previous conversation and by promising state aid encouraged him to increase his manufacturing facilities by importing skilled labor from abroad.

Of far-reaching importance was the establishment of a special department for commerce and industry, which as a fifth branch was placed on equal terms with the finance office and general directorate. Unlike his four colleagues of

the other departments, the new minister of commerce was relieved from general financial details in the provinces, so that, assisted by two counselors, he could confine his activities exclusively to his territory, which had not yet been successfully systematized.

There was still another department of inner state life in which the ruler Frederick William I had left almost everything to be done by his successor. The difficult task of improving the system of justice had never been forgotten by the preceding government, but its efforts brought no appreciable results. There had been many cases of so-called acts of chamber justice and arbitrary interference with the regular course of procedure, although the congress of former days had particularly recommended the development of justice to the supreme court, demanding an unobstructed road for court and right. King Frederick now confirmed these old regulations; he decreed "that justice and mercy must no longer be mixed up and that matters of justice simply would have to be disposed of by laws, right and courts." The souvenir coin issued at the beginning of his reign bore the promising inscription, "For truth and justice"; the Latin words *veritati et institiæ* were used. Whenever there were differences concerning authority between the courts and ad-

ministration offices, the last named, although at fault, were nearly always sustained by the late king. The domineering gentlemen of the war and agricultural departments at Halberstadt were therefore much surprised when, in their quarrel with the department of justice, the new king's decision went against them.

A thorough reorganization of the entire judicial system required considerable preparation. Under Frederick's eyes two generations of jurists devoted the energies of their lives to the task. The king began by cutting from the right of punishment several outgrowths concerning which he decided without any advice from the wise ones. Above all, he discontinued the use of the painful questioning ("third degree"), which he considered "cruel and useless." A case in which the uncertainty of this painful mode of proof was pointedly demonstrated had recently added to the great dislike of torture among jurists as well as the people. It had been opposed repeatedly from a scientific point of view and was vigorously fought by a teacher, the great Thomasius, at a Prussian university. The Prussian state had the glory of first setting the example. Frederick did not at once abandon the torture unconditionally, but the clause of his edict dated the 3rd of June, 1740, which in cases of high treason or wholesale murder

still permitted torture, was never applied and a few years later it was abolished by a decree.

The penalty for infanticide had been drowning; such unfortunate women were in every case obliged to sew with their own hands the leather bag in which they were to be immersed. King Frederick forbade the cruel practice and ordered execution by sword. An irritating nuisance was the handling of marriage licenses in cases of weddings prohibited by the Church on account of too close relationship of the parties. Permission had in many instances been procured through money consideration, but on the 3rd of June the king forbade this practice, and permitted marriages unconditionally in all cases where they were not "clearly contrary to God's Word." The prevailing economic state doctrine, which in the interest of an increasing population fought all impediments placed in the way of marriage, cheerfully met the Protestant sentiment which regarded the abolition of the "remission nuisance" as a full restoration of evangelical freedom.

The same connection of view points between state and religion was observable in the drastic reply to a Catholic who applied for citizenship in Frankfort-on-the-Oder: "All religions are equally good as long as the people professing them are honest; if Turks and heathens come

here to populate the country, we will build them mosques and churches." The breadth and the uncertainty about his personal belief preserved the king from the quarrels between blind intolerance and sound politics in which France under Louis XIV lost valuable quantities of creative working power.

There never was any question about placing all faiths on an equal footing in everyday life; that which was promised and granted to each community was simply the public recognition of their divine service, and protection for their religious belief against the state's coercion in church matters and ecclesiastical efforts at proselyting. These two meanings were expressed by the celebrated words engraved over the entrance gate of Frederick's church policy. He rejected the ministry's demand to close the schools for Catholic soldiers' children, which had been opened under the government with the remark: "All religions must be tolerated; the attorney-general only has to see to it that neither one of them injures the other; here everybody will have to work out his own salvation in his own way."

While the king had the authority of the highest bishop, he did not consider it incumbent upon him in his exalted position to interfere in the differences of rites between the two Prot-

estant churches. Without hesitancy he granted to the Lutherans, who had submitted a request in ninety Alexandrine verses, their "halfway measures" which were prohibited under Frederick William I, such as surplices, vestments, the singing of the benediction at the Lord's Supper, and the bearing of crosses and lights at communion and at funerals.

Even during the first few months of the new government Frederick's decisions on the strength of reports or inquiries made by his officials were admired as combining sharp business judgment with concise expression, and many of these royal epigrams continued to be quoted in Germany. The ruler, always sure of himself and with confidence in his own ability, was far from being hasty or overanxious, like many new sovereigns who love to show their independence by opposing improvements.

Those were greatly mistaken who thought that the king's "hobby" was to be unusual in all his actions,—original, new, his own creator. Count Manteuffel, who formerly was his intimate friend and resided in Berlin for ten years, expressed these opinions in a secret report to the court of Dresden and added that Frederick only permitted the old order of things to prevail where it would be absolutely impossible to deviate. Manteuffel probably remembered

how forward the crown prince was on one occasion when speaking about his father's administration. However, all reports of an impending thorough change of system in domestic politics and the hopes and fears connected therewith were quickly set at rest by a circular letter communicating to the authorities and administrative offices the king's determination to retain the existing financial usages intact, including the excise as an indirect city tax, the direct "contribution" in the country, the customs duties and the leasing of domains according to established principles.

Least of all was it permitted among officials, who were regarded as the moving power in the artistic and prompt-working machinery, to hold any doubts of the complete unity of the old and the new Prussia. Those who could not be convinced declared as a parting shot that the king had promised his father to leave matters during the first year just as he found them.

Not even in filling positions were any changes made. Above all there remained the minister of agriculture, formerly a lessee of the state's domains, who was much detested and regarded as the incarnation of the oppressive financial system. Few people knew that Frederick, while still crown prince, had learned to appreciate the true value of this man. General as-

tonishment was expressed at the fact that this "preacher of economy" had even more influence now than with the preceding government.

There was one official, however, who had enjoyed the confidence of Frederick William I and to the general satisfaction of the people was now abandoned by Frederick: he was von Eckart and his title was "Geheimer Finanzrat." He was an immigrant and a maker of projects, who was guilty of blackmail while in the service of the Prussian state. At Königsberg, where he happened to be, he was arrested, dismissed, and expelled from the country.

The demands of the service were increased as compared to previous standards. All classes of officials soon learned to fear the new and strict master; for instance, the receivers of taxes saw irregularities uncovered in their cash books which had escaped even the sharp eye of Frederick William. The higher officials were detected whenever their propositions showed a lack of knowledge or of practicability. The Brandenburg department of war and agriculture probably expected a particularly gracious reply to its request for an appropriation of 195 thalers to repair the road from Rheinsberg to Ruppin, but the king thundered at the committee: "I know the road and have to save the war treasure for a big beast." At the same time he punished

the minister in charge of the meeting who had indorsed the request, by asking sarcastically whether the general directorate would not soon demand 100,000 thalers to improve the road between Berlin and Charlottenburg.

The merry member of the Prussian court at that time was Baron von Pöllnitz. Many other people may have thought as he did when he said to himself: "I should gladly spend a hundred gold coins if I could get the old master back." So far as public opinion, however, could be gauged in those days, the immense majority of people in the country admired the king who could and would be his own counselor. Professor von Ludewig wrote, in a small newspaper at Halle: "If the ruler of the country personally is able to understand everything and to draw the proper conclusions, happiness, prosperity and comfort will prevail in the country, while injurious fear of men will disappear like smoke and fog dissipated by the sun."

The most disappointed ones were those who had expected acts of personal revenge. In a high-handed manner, Louis XII once said, after succeeding to the French throne: "The king of France does not remember the insults offered the duke of Orléans." Frederick did not hide his admiration when mentioning these words in one of his letters, and afterward when king he

made them serve as his own guide. A man named Derschau, whom during his days of dark despair the crown prince had detested as his worst enemy, was honored with ostentation by being at once promoted to the rank of major general. Another of his father's favorites, a man with whom the son had been reconciled years before, Colonel von Hacke, became adjutant general and the first knight of the new order, "Pour le mérite."

The honors heaped upon Derschau were all the more surprising, as it was believed that he was referred to when on the morning after his father's death the king mentioned, in his address to the generals at Berlin: "Against some of you there are complaints about greed, harshness and overbearing; do not give any further cause for such complaints."

Other remarks made by Frederick on that occasion were variously reported as to details by some of those who heard them. The substance was that the king spoke of himself as a former comrade of his generals, thanked them for their part in the work done by his dead father, that of forming such a beautiful army, and promised them for their faithfulness and zeal the same appreciation that was shown them by their old master. The most discussed point of the address was that the soldiers ought to be just as

good and useful as they were handsome; that more humanity should be shown toward inferiors in rank and the general populace; that an army must not injure the country it is to protect, and that a soldier must be human and reasonable as well as bold and brave.

That which occurred in the army during the following few days seemed to confirm the views of those who saw in the words of the address the first indication of an intended breach with the entire existing military system. On the 4th of June all regiments received the order, under penalty of losing honor and reputation, to discontinue in their recruiting districts, into which the entire kingdom had been divided seven years previously, the persecution of those subject to military duty. All violent recruiting with its "customary brutality" was forever prohibited. At the same time in the new regulations for military academies the "whipping" of cadets was strictly forbidden; the commander was held responsible that his officers and sergeants did not abuse the pupils, who were to be treated like noblemen and future officers and not like peasants' hired men.

On the 2nd of June the king wrote in stern words to a prince of the Prussian house, Margrave Frederick von Schwedt, who desired to have a captain of his cavalry regiment removed

from the army, that the prince must not imagine he could do a wrong to an officer by dismissing him without cause. The king added: "It would be advisable for you to change your tactics and to conduct yourself with the officers of your regiment in such a manner as is fair and decent."

Of all divisions of the army, the king's regiment at Potsdam had received the greatest increase through the notorious search for unusually tall men. It had become a matter of economy to discontinue the regiment, and it was understood that prior to his death the old king advised his son to disband this favorite "child," although personally he did not feel equal to parting with the regiment during his lifetime.

On the 22nd of June, at the funeral parade of Frederick William I, the giants appeared for the last time together, then the regiment disbanded. Only one battalion remained, under the name of "Grenadier-Garde"; it was to be continued forever without change "in details, uniforms, etc., particularly rifles and appurtenances, in glorious memory of the king now reposing in God."

Voltaire was now able to announce to the world in exultant verses the disappearance of the "war colossuses." In London, however, a report was current that the disbanding of the famous regiment would be followed by a reduction of the Prussian army to about one-half of its

strength. It was said that in his first conversation with his ministers the king had asked whether the number of soldiers could not be reduced to 45,000, and that during a ride in the country he had seen a thousand boys with red neckties, showing that they had been marked for service, surrounding his carriage, and that on their petition he had promised them to discontinue recruiting and general military duty.

Frederick intended precisely the contrary for the defense of his state. On the day following the funeral, jointly with the disbandment of the great grenadier regiment, he began the marked increase in the army by adding 10,000 men to the 83,000 already under arms. In still higher proportion than the number of men, at least with the principal weapon, was the increase in units. The field infantry was raised from 66 battalions to 83, and the king proposed to add seven regiments during the following year.

In the way of cavalry he organized at first only one new regiment of hussars, in addition to a squadron of *garde-du-corps* and a few new squadrons to strengthen the regiments of dragoons already in service. These skeletons of new formations were filled by drawing in older units and by recruiting abroad, also by acquiring complete contingents from foreign war serv-

ice. The court of Eisenach furnished Prussia with one battalion, and the court of Stuttgart with a whole regiment, for a money consideration. The old prince of Dessau agreed to supply troops from Anhalt for a regiment to be tendered to his favorite son, Moritz. A similar arrangement was made with the duke of Brunswick. In the lifetime of Frederick William I the crown princess, at her husband's request, had told Duke Karl that he would greatly oblige his brother-in-law by placing, after the latter's succession to the throne, the fourth of the six Brunswick brothers, Prince Ferdinand, nineteen years old, at the head of a regiment of infantry in the Prussian service. This regiment was for all time to come to remain the property of the Brunswick House, and after Ferdinand's death some Brunswick prince would regularly be made its owner.

If what Frederick had in mind could be carried out on a large scale, foreign units would be added to the native troops by combining a part of the military power of smaller German countries with the Prussian army system, while fresh material to take the place of the men who had served their terms would then be available from those territories without the accidents and drawbacks so common in connection with the recruiting of volunteers.

A first trial was made with the policy of military conventions, to which a later period gave a political and national aim beyond the original military point of view. General van Schwerin would gladly have extended the Prussian defense system throughout Germany, in order to utilize the sleeping fighting power of the German nation as a unit and according to regular plans in the interest of the German armies. He proposed to divide all Germany into recruiting districts such as the cantons had established in Prussia, so that each regiment would have a certain territory from which to draw fresh recruits. This plan seemed "plausible," but the king called attention to the fact that the emperor and the imperial counselors, already irritated by the Prussian recruiting, would object to any attempt at a "division of the Teutonic provinces."

King Frederick, however, was deeply interested in opening new sources to replenish his army, which was proved by his brisk negotiations with the court of Brunswick. During June and July the queen had to write not less than forty-eight letters on this subject to Wolfenbüttel, begging, imploring and threatening. Duke Karl was very stubborn; he had refused the emperor the two battalions which had served as reënforcements during the last Turkish war,

because he could no longer spare them. He claimed that he could not expect his country to furnish new recruits.

This was the first handicap which Frederick's government met and the opposition was sufficient to irritate the self-will of the high-strung king to the point of violence. The queen had to write to her brother that if he did not furnish the regiment of his own free will the king would give orders to take the men from Brunswick nevertheless.

In one of her next letters Elizabeth Christine added soothingly: "Our dear king is acting under the spur of the moment; afterward he feels sorry and would give much to undo what has been done; by gentleness, confidence and favors one can go far with him; it is only necessary to flatter him and to let him see a real attachment and loyalty." The more grateful the queen felt toward her husband for the attentions and liberality with which he had surprised her at the time of ascending the throne, the harder she tried to consummate an understanding between the relatives. She wrote to her brother: "I did not give him any rest till he promised me to pardon you." When for political reasons the brother finally ceased his resistance and made possible what he previously declared impossible, the highly delighted sister wrote: "With the

king one must use gentleness and confidence; he has a good heart and that is the direction from which he must be approached."

While zealously trying to attract German princes and contingents to his army, the king saw for himself and the members of his royal house something offensive in the fact of being indebted to a foreign military power, although only in the slight connection of service. When in his cradle he was made owner of a Netherlands regiment by his powerful godfathers, the General States of the United Provinces, while a second regiment of the state army, ever since the days of the Great Elector, had always a Brandenburg margrave for its chief in the direct line of succession. The ministry of the interior was asked for a report regarding the origin and nature of such proprietorship and answered that it would always be advisable to keep what one has: the king, however, replied disparagingly: "The prince of Zippelzerbst does well by being a colonel in Holland, if he can, and by procuring regiments there for his sons, but a king of Prussia need not beg either for himself or for his relatives; he can keep so many troops that if he had three times as many brothers and cousins all could be supplied." He then transferred his own Netherlands regiment to a prince of the House of Holstein-Gottorp, who in exchange

furnished a few hundred recruits for the Prussian army.

Afterward Frederick always tried to keep secret any increase in his army. In the first instance he purposely drew the world's attention to the Prussian armaments, to which he attached a significant meaning. To Colonel von Camas, whom he sent to the court of France at the time of ascending the throne, he gave these orders: "The augmentation of my army during your stay at Versailles will give you an opportunity of speaking about my lively and stormy disposition. You may express your fears that this increase may start a conflagration which could set all Europe on fire; you may also say that it is in the nature of youth to be enterprising, and that the enticing pictures of glory may disturb and have disturbed the rest of numerous people on earth."

These instructions, written by his own hand for Camas, constituted the first political memorandum from the king's pen. It showed the ardor of youth and cool, calculating statesmanship. Frederick desired to be feared, not only personally but through his 100,000 armed troops, so that he would have to be reckoned with. It was his intention to disabuse the minds of the world of the belief that the Prussians did not shoot. Later on he said that all Prussian patriots felt with a lacerated heart the lack of respect shown by the powers toward Fred-

erick William, and the stigma placed by the world on the Prussian name.

The man into whose heart the contempt and scorn of strangers cut deepest, and whose face flushed most from shame and anger among Prussian patriots in the days of Frederick William, was beyond a doubt the heir to the crown. Prussia seemed to have been lulled into sleep without knowing her own strength, when this young son of a king came to break the charm. Excitement and consideration, temperament and politics, duty and ambition, force of circumstances and inner impulse, acted together to urge him into quick, bold deeds, to a policy of determination and action, after the days of looking on and lack of determination. The first utterance of this new policy was the frank announcement through the mouth of the ambassador who had to communicate solemnly the event of the change in rulers.

The king deemed it further necessary to express plainly and vigorously to his own counselors his basic ideas about the state's exterior requirements. At the head of the "department for exterior affairs" was the half blind General von Borcke, assisted by the experienced and capable cabinet minister Thulemeier and by Heinrich von Podewils, who was present at the last political conversation between the dying king and the crown prince. He was a nephew and son-in-law of the late field mar-

shal Grumbkow. During the first few days Podewils could not talk enough about the indefatigable zeal with which the king tried to post himself in exterior affairs. Soon afterward, however, the ministers became convinced that it would be very difficult for them to guess the opinion of their master.

He asked for their views about the differences with the bishop of Liège and his interference in the affairs of Herstal, which had become Prussian property in 1732. The three ministers expressed the belief that this case presented great difficulties, because the bishop was sustained by the emperor as well as by the king of France; to employ force could easily lead to a clash with those two great powers. In a gruff manner the king wrote on the margin of the memorandum: "When ministers talk of politics they are clever people, but when they talk about war it seems like an Iroquois speaking about astronomy." Diplomats at Berlin afterward related that in consequence of this remark the worthy Thulemeier suffered a stroke of apoplexy; but this was not in accordance with the facts, since he lived for nearly two months after the memorandum was returned by the ruler. The astonishment of the three ministers, however, was undoubtedly overwhelming.

They were all the more at sea because they received no details of the negotiations which the king had since instituted at Versailles and Han-

over. It was impossible for them to surmise whether he would depend on France or England.

That there would be a clash between those nations in the near future was to be expected. England had already declared war against Spain, France's ally; the hostilities lasted nine years, and during that period nearly all the European powers were involved. The strained relations between the two foremost in the West, on one hand, and the agreement between the courts of Versailles and Vienna, on the other, marked the two distinct points of general conditions at the time King Frederick II ascended the throne.

For more than a generation since the Peace of Utrecht the differences between France and England had been kept in the background. All wars which occurred during that period did not necessarily extend to general hostilities, since the two strongest European powers maintained peace among themselves. The treaties of Vienna in 1725 led to some complications, in which it was generally understood that the nations named opposed Austria together. During the war which Louis XV, in 1733, declared against the emperor, George II remained strictly neutral. In the meantime, the crowns of France and Spain had formed their Bourbon family alliance, principally for the commercial-political purpose of taking from the English people the trade of Spanish America and turn-

ing it over to the French flag. The agreement with the emperor, obtained through the peace of 1735 and carefully nursed since then, reassured the Bourbons that there would be no diversion of England's old continental ally either in Italy, Flanders or on the Rhine.

Stricter measures against English smugglers in American waters by the Spanish coast fleet showed that the opponents were determined to carry through their plans. A live artery of British maritime trade was touched; England proved by her declaration of war that she regarded her smugglers' affairs as her own.

The struggle would have been very unequal if Spain had had to fight it out alone, but the combined fleets of Spain and France equaled that of England in the number of sails. In the French ports, the ships of the line were mobilized; the fleets of Brest and Toulon were anchored in the roadstead; nobody expected such quick action from the state management of old Cardinal Fleury, but at the beginning of September, 1740, the ships sailed for the Canary Islands, where they united for the voyage to the West Indies.

Immediately preceding the last great change in Europe's affairs, owing to the outbreak of the Anglo-Spanish War, England, Holland, France and Austria had joined in a diplomatic campaign against Prussia, in which they demanded that her

claim to the inheritance of the duchies of Jülich and Berg should be submitted to the decision of the four powers named.

King Frederick William, shortly before his death, took the first step to find a way out of this dangerous isolation. In 1739 he made a treaty with France which held out the modest gain of the duchy of Berg up to Düsseldorf, but it gave the Prussian policy support at least from one direction. At Versailles it was desired to make the agreement more binding by changing the treaty to an alliance, but Frederick William declined. As long as he lived the French people had no reason to fear that Prussia would swing from France to England, because the old king could never offer the hand of reconciliation to his abandoned brother-in-law of England.

It was unfortunate for France that during this crisis, when the opponent's position became more and more defiant, the Prussian policy, no longer influenced by personal aversion, was able to base a decision on sober calculation. The difficulties between France and England added strength to the Prussian policy.

George II, as well as his English and Hanoverian ministers, waited longingly for the moment which at last arrived. Since the autumn of 1734, when his physicians despaired of saving Frederick William I, the letter of condolence to the successor had

been written and signed; only the date remained to be added, which followed six years later. Freiherr von Münchhausen held himself ready to carry the message. He was the most prominent of the "royal British secret counselors accredited at the court of Brunswick-Lüneburg," and no less a person than he was selected to perform the great task of convincing the king's nephew that "he could never cut such an important figure and particularly never could serve the evangelical religion better and more powerfully than by living in close union with and keeping common counsel with Hanover."

The ambassador's special instructions were to the effect that an alliance between the two electorates, formed in 1693, should be renewed and that, if Prussia should suggest the Jülich-Berg inheritance matter, this "disagreeable and difficult" question should be sidetracked by saying that it had been provided for in the deliberations over the alliance and, if necessary, could afterward be included in an additional separate article.

Upon arriving in Berlin, Münchhausen was agreeably surprised "everywhere" to notice an indescribable joy at the prospect of an agreement between the two courts; Minister Thulemeier, Adjutant General Hacke, the queen-mother above all, favored him as much as he could desire. He complained, however, that he did not know yet who was cook and who was waiter in Berlin. It re-

mained unknown to him that the king was absolutely independent in arriving at his conclusions. Frederick ordered his ministers to be extremely attentive to the ambassador and to overwhelm him with protestations of their friendship, but not to enter into negotiations with him. One day they had to tell him that the cares of administration did not yet permit the king to think of foreign affairs, and on another day he was reminded that it would not be proper to negotiate while the old king's body was still above ground.

At last Frederick personally excused himself from the farewell audience, on the ground of ill health, which for a while would not permit him to attend to any business. In his return letter to the king of England he said the "time was much too short" to make the renewal of the alliance possible; on the same occasion he returned to his uncle the amounts contributed by him toward the expense of the court at Rheinsberg. Encouraged by Thulemeier's words during the early part of July, Münchhausen reminded the king, by letter from Hanover, of the negotiations, and received a reply stating that the intended journey of homage through Prussia did not make the present moment appear as the fitting time.

The surprise had not met with success. Instead of throwing himself into his relatives' arms at the first hint, Frederick decided to let them wait and

make offers. If they desired him they would have to do more than the Frenchmen had done. The last named were much disturbed by Münchhausen's arrival, as was plainly shown by the complaints of Marquis Valory, the French ambassador, of the evident Hanoverian sentiment throughout the country.

It was desirable to excite the suspicion and jealousy of the two powers against each other; such was the instruction to Colonel von Camas and Count Truchsess von Waldenburg when they started for their respective posts at Versailles and Hanover.

In the orders to Camas the king remarked: "I am sending Truchsess to Hanover; he shall keep the cardinals' politics in check, and you will speak of Truchsess as a man whom I esteem highly and who knows my secrets. It is certain that England is seeking me and it is equally certain that advantageous proposals will be made to me. The higher the Englishmen raise their offer, the higher the tone which you will receive orders to maintain."

Truchsess was also instructed to be very cordial while in Hanover toward the English ministers, in the presence of the Frenchmen and French sympathizers, but when alone with the Englishmen, he was to make a great ado about Camas's mission to France. The following special recommendations were made to him: "You will say with a sugges-

tion of jealousy that he is one of my bosom friends who has my confidence and certainly did not go to France for nothing. If somebody tries to talk to you about business you will always reply that you do not despair of a fortunate result provided that better offers are made you than those made me by France."

At Hanover as well as at Versailles, the Prussian inheritance claim to Berg was to be the test of the much-vaunted sincerity.

As he had done to the two great western powers, the king sent the announcement of his advent to the throne to the Roman emperor, through one of his personal friends, Colonel Gustav von Münchow, whose father was president of the Küstrin chamber and his old benefactor. Secret instructions like those to the other two colonels were apparently not given to Münchow. King Frederick knew in advance that he had nothing to expect from the "Hofburg."

The "tablecloth was cut apart" between Vienna and Berlin, since Emperor Charles VI had induced France and the two sea powers to storm in on the king of Prussia with their identical notes, and to force upon him their decision as great powers concerning his claim to the duchy of Berg, which the emperor had guaranteed in the most solemn manner.

Since their Frederick William spoke only in bit-

ter words of the faithless ally, and was with the crown prince in his sympathies, a sudden change of sentiment took place. While sending Münchow on his way to Vienna, he still heard his dying father's warning against Austria's policy of keeping down the House of Brandenburg.

During the summer of 1740, the position of the Vienna court was not quite as brilliant as it had been four years before when the complete dissolution of the alliance with Prussia occurred. At that time great delight prevailed over the fortunate result of an agreement with her old opponent, France, while Russia's friendship could be counted on with certainty.

This double alliance with the eastern and the western great powers, the repetition of which in future remained the most ardent desire of the Austrian policy, withstood its first test only poorly in the unfortunate course of the war against Turkey, which was begun on France's advice and to please Russia. The victor of Salankemen and conqueror of Belgrade had just died, and immediately the nation's glorious feats of valor became disastrously dimmed when land and men were sacrificed by disgracefully neglecting and renouncing Prince Eugene's conquests. At the same time, the friendship with the Russian brothers in arms was seriously shaken, as is generally the case in coalition wars.

Conditions among the powers in eastern Europe were such that the more Austrian influence shrank at the czar's court, the more Prussian politics gained favorable weight there. The old friendly relations between Russia and Prussia had suffered since the death of Peter the Great, and ceased completely in 1733 when, during the quarrel over the succession to the Polish throne, Empress Anna, contrary to the selection of a "Piast," which she held out to Prussia through Count Loewenwolde, favored the application of the "Wettiner," which was unpopular at Berlin, and for the second time precipitated the fall of King Stanislas.

King Frederick immediately after ascending the throne informed his ambassador, Freiherr von Mardenfeld, of his desire to bring back the former close relations between the two states as they were during the days of Peter I and his nearest successors. He regarded Russia as a power whose friendship could not be of present benefit to him, but whose enmity, in case of warlike complications, could cause him much discomfort. For that reason he desired at once, in view of his presumably first encounter at arms, the czarina's guarantee for his claim to the inheritance on the lower Rhine, or at least her promise not to oppose his taking possession of Berg in the future. An attempt was to be made to overcome the obstacles which the envy of antagonists had rolled into his way here also.

Austrian politics had been busy in all directions, trying to arouse distrust and opposition to Prussia's claims. The Catholic duchy of Berg was considered too good for this Protestant power, the ambitious, aspiring House of Hohenzollern. Furthermore, France's good will was essential for the present as well as the future in rejecting Bavaria's claim to the inheritance of Austria. France was the historical guardian of the House of Wittelsbach, and the Sulzbach line of this House, Prussia's competitor in the claim to Berg, had to be treated with great consideration; consequently Berg's remaining a Wittelsbach possession had a direct bearing on the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction by Louis XV.

Upon this French assurance, on France's sincerity and good faith, Austrian diplomacy built the entire future of the country, reduced by misfortune in war and mismanagement in peace. It remained to be seen whether this confidence was merited and whether it justified from a political point of view the contempt for Prussia and the injury of her rights and claims based on treaties. The king of Prussia could see farther than the emperor's old counselors. On the 11th of June, he told Colonel Camas, who then started for Paris: "It is my opinion that all plans of the Frenchmen are directed toward the aim of taking advantage of the emperor's death."

CHAPTER IX

TO THE RIVERS MEMEL AND MEUSE

DIPLOMATIC negotiations in those days, owing to the condition of roads and poor means of communication, required time and patience. It might take weeks or even months to receive from Hanover and Versailles news which would permit a judgment of the success achieved by the Prussian messengers. In the meantime, care concerning internal matters of state came to the fore. It was the king's intention to show himself to his subjects in the provinces and to receive their homage. Nearly three months would be required for these trips, because the boundaries of the long state territory East and West were somewhat far apart.

Physicians were not consulted about the plan of traveling. They were not fully satisfied with the young king's health, and during the excitement and efforts of the first few weeks of his government they prescribed a treatment which he conscientiously followed. On the 27th of June, he said in one of his letters: "I rise at four o'clock, drink at the

springs until eight, write until ten, and review till about noon; then I write again until five o'clock and during the evening I find recreation in good company. As soon as my traveling is done, my life will be more quiet and regular, but for the time being I have to submit to the ordinary course of business, besides new details, and in the bargain I have to manufacture many useless compliments, issue circular letters, etc."

The castle at Charlottenburg where the king resided was in those days visited by many curious people. The small agricultural town was artificially founded and soon neglected; its wide, unpaved main street ran through swamps and pools which were bridged in a primitive way by planks; visitors were most numerous during the noon hour, when the king with his military suite returned at full gallop from the troop drills; residents and strangers then crowded in to get a glimpse of the ruler.

A foreigner who met Crown Prince Frederick two years prior to his succession to the throne was astonished by his extremely youthful appearance and, without hesitancy, called him the handsomest specimen of humanity in the entire kingdom. A profile picture of Frederick, painted true to nature by Knobesdorf in 1737, showed almost boyish features. From the front the face appeared full and round, and the slight figure, hardly of medium size,

had begun to fill out. In June, 1740, the following opinion was expressed regarding his appearance: "Pretty well nourished, without being too stout." Soon afterward many predicted that in the course of time the sovereign would become as fleshy as his father had been. While his legs were of a rather heavy contour, his step was light, firm and elastic. There was noticed in his bearing a negligent inclination of the head toward the left shoulder, and it was claimed that this would betray him at all times. The face was deeply tanned by air and sun, his complexion contrasting sharply with the small white hands adorned by expensive rings, which he seemed fond of displaying by lively gestures during conversation. The brown hair was powdered in French style and clustered around the high forehead in graceful curls, ending at the back in a queue encased in a black band.

All this was extremely becoming to the free and noble features, as even the jealous ones admitted. When an irresistible, engaging smile wreathed the fine mouth, the face took on a glow of friendliness which "made the most timid man feel like talking frankly with him." At such times his large, luminous eyes would brighten into a soulful expression, which no one who saw it ever forgot. The king was very nearsighted, a weakness which did not affect the mild beauty of those orbs. Many patriotic poems were written during those years and

all of them referred feelingly to the shining blue eyes of the young king.

Diplomats saw more in Frederick's features than the poets did. Marquis Beauvau, who brought a letter of congratulation from the king of France, upon the occasion of Frederick's succession to the throne, wrote: "His manner is natural and engaging, his voice is soft and pleasant; it might indicate great inner modesty or even a little timidity, particularly when he commences to talk or when he speaks to somebody for the first time, and that helps considerably in gaining for him all the hearts whenever he desires to do so; by looking a little more closely, however, we notice at once the decisive and contemptuous trait which only superficially veils the expression of mildness and kindness."

The regular representative of France, Marquis Valory, also regarded the king as imperious at heart, in spite of his politeness and his habit of saying pleasant things. He believed that the ruler could not resist the temptation of throwing out fine and malicious hints whenever he discovered anything ridiculous, but he did not feel offended by a vigorous reply, provided the answer was to the point. Valory also reported that on one occasion Frederick remarked: "People must not pay much attention to the little taunts which sometimes escape my lips: that make of expression was born in me."

The tremulous twitching around the corners of

his mouth as a rule indicated only slight feeling, but when dark shadows spread over his brow and his eyes flashed like a gloomy fire, a storm was approaching. Beauvau said: "He can fly into a passion and be violent to the point of losing self-control, although he learned to restrain himself a little at the time he was in disgrace."

The improvement of his health was confidently expected through his simple mode of living, which was appreciated by all, including the diplomats. It is said that in hardening himself and becoming used to the strenuous life, he set a good example to everyone.

He introduced the custom of wearing every day the uniform of his regiment. So long as court dress was considered superior to the uniform at court, the wealthy officers displayed clothes of the latest style, to the embarrassment of their less favored comrades. For this reason, during the second half of his reign, King Frederick William doffed his uniform only during the few weeks which he spent each autumn at Wusterhausen, where on his hunting grounds he wore the green jacket of the huntsman with the cutlass.

In his boyhood days when he and his father were alienated Frederick called his tight-fitting coat, known as "justaucorps," his death gown, but now his admiration for fine garments was seen only in his richly and tastefully dressed pages and the nu-

merous servants that had been added to the previously economical household. New splendor and the indispensable exterior dignity were imparted to the royal establishment by restoring the great court positions that had nearly all disappeared since 1713. For the ordinary service to his own person the king renounced not only such dignitaries but the chamberlains, who had always been regarded with undisguised contempt. Around him were found the adjutants and the small circle of intimate friends who soon moved from Rheinsberg to Charlottenburg, where they quickly saw that their sphere of influence would remain limited.

It is reported that Dietrich von Keyserlingk, the king's favorite friend, in his first delight considered himself the mightiest man at the new court and employed several secretaries to answer the many letters of congratulation received, but soon court circles were busy talking about the manner in which the king taught the favorite his proper place by saying: "My dear Keyserlingk, you are a very nice man and very witty; you have read much, sing well and joke well, but your counsels are those of a fool." It happened that Keyserlingk's impaired health demanded consideration. Promoted to the rank of adjutant general, he was not required like the other adjutants to devote his entire time to the exacting service on the staff of the highest war lord.

The wise man Jordan, whom his royal friend called "the most amiable and most wonderful mortal," was placed at the head of the orphan asylums, hospitals and almshouses. He complained that the building selected as a public workhouse, showing the distinguishing mark of a bull's head, was situated in a street called Wilhelmstrasse at the farthest end of the capital. Another member of the Rheinberg circle, a young man named Bielefeld, would not acknowledge that the position of secretary of legation, with which he was intrusted, was the proper place for the development of his talents as a statesman. He confessed that it was a small beginning and consoled himself by saying that all those who were full of expectations had been disappointed by the change in government.

Their personal devotion was put to a severe test when they were asked to come to the determination of being nothing but friends. Thus Frederick inquired of the faithful Luhm, the Saxon ambassador in St. Petersburg, in his urgent letter of invitation, whether he considered himself man enough to abandon the diplomatic career and lead the thoughtful life of a sage, and whether in the friend's company he would find sufficient compensation for politics. Luhm cheerfully answered in the affirmative. He quit Russia and the Saxon state service, but he carried the germ of death with him, and could see his dear country only from the distance.

The dying man's touching letter of farewell said that he met with shipwreck in the harbor.

Algarotti, the "swan of Padua," also accepted, but not without the secret hope of playing a brilliant political rôle. He hurried over from London, reaching Charlottenburg in June, and the luster of his splendid education coupled with his personal charm still impressed Frederick as deeply as it had done during a brief visit at Rheinsberg the previous autumn. To other people this lively southerner appeared quite superficial and, in addition, disagreeably arrogant.

Many more men of wit would gladly have come. Of a little French gentleman, whom he met through Algarotti, Frederick said that he had better stay where he was, adding: "Let us only take flowers of the human species, cutting down the useless leaves and decaying roots; a bouquet must be choice."

Among those selected were Fouquê, the grand master of the order of Bayard vom Remusberge, and Count Rothenburg, a finely educated nobleman, who, for Brandenburg-Prussia, was one of the last examples of noblemen who sought service in foreign countries. Thirteen years before, as a youth of sixteen, like several of his kinsmen preceding him, he entered the French military service, and during the campaign of 1734, as an adjutant to Marshal Berwick, he met the crown prince of Prussia. The

similarity of their dispositions was striking. Both, under a polished French exterior, showed their thorough German substance; they were jointly interested in books, and each loved to draw his sword. Since he was able to devote his service to this ruler of his country, the young count could no longer remain abroad. He was obliged to serve two years under the Danish flag; and after that he hurried back to Prussia, since the anger of the old prince of Dessau, his persecutor, had no longer any power over him.

Those who had been banished in 1730 were also permitted to return home. It is easily understood why Frederick did not like to be reminded of what happened at that time. The witty ones used to say that he had a splendid memory up to 1730; at any rate as king he did not hesitate a moment to pay his debt of honor to the victims involved in the trouble of the crown prince.

At Blankenburg, a small city in the Harz mountains, his old teacher, Duhan de Jandun, who held the position of librarian for the House of Brunswick, felt very lonesome. On the third day of his government Frederick notified the man, who had been innocently expelled from the country and from his beloved French colony, that the hour of deliverance had arrived. He wrote: "I am waiting for you with impatience; do not make me suffer." A position as counselor of legation in the department

of the exterior, which permitted the old gentleman to select his own time for service, secured him complete comfort and his royal pupil continued to give him careful attention, but the intimacy of former days between the two was not reëstablished. The old gentleman had preserved too little liberty of mind; even in his outside appearance he was evidently a stubborn follower of Calvin.

At London resided Peter von Keith, the lieutenant who had fled the country and for whom the king of England had procured the rank of a Portuguese major, to protect himself and the deserter from a possible Prussian demand for extradition. Frederick recalled the old friend and accomplice of his youth, promoted him to the rank of lieutenant colonel, and made him equerry and member of the new academy, but excluded him from real service in the army as well as from his own presence. The English court afterward suggested that Keith might be sent as ambassador to England, but the king regarded this as only a ruse of those who considered Keith half British and would like to take advantage of his inexperience as a diplomat. The unfortunate father of Lieutenant von Katte, executed ten years previously, was made a count and while the king reviewed Katte's cuirassiers at Angerburg, on his trip through Prussia, he personally handed to the chief of the regiment a field marshal's patent.

On the 7th of July, the ruler left Berlin with a

small retinue. When, forty years before, his grandfather went to Königsberg to be crowned, his suite numbered more than two hundred state coaches, kitchen carts, and munition wagons; this time not more than three wagons were driven through the country; the king shared his private vehicle with Keyserlingk and Algarotti, the two wits who were rivals in choice conversation, and with the quiet, plain-spoken, giant adjutant general von Hacke. An armed following had already gone out of fashion at the time of Frederick William I. Only when passing through Polish territory did a troop of dragoons act as a special guard.

The smaller the number of travelers the faster the journey proceeded; to go from Berlin to Königsberg, Frederick I generally required twelve to fourteen days, but his two successors, in spite of the poor condition of roads, as a rule did not consume more than four days. Peasants' horses were used in relays and arranged for in advance; those who furnished them knew that their sovereign would compensate them well. About the time he was expected to arrive, the usually quiet places became lively and excited; the inhabitants of the surrounding country hurried together; the relay horses stood in line and beside them, dressed in their best holiday clothes, were the expectant peasants who were to accompany the party to the next relay; others held buckets of water ready to pour over the hot wagon

wheels while horses were being changed. At the first stop in each district the "Landrath" was obliged to be present, as were the royal office holders and mayors of villages. Advance riders, who preceded the main body by about fifteen minutes, had to see that everything was in perfect order. Whenever the king stopped he commenced at once, without permitting salutes and long addresses of courtesy, to consult the officials about the condition and requirements of the place and neighborhood. The common people were permitted to speak whenever they had anything of importance to suggest. Occasionally, when the journey was resumed, a bailiff rode alongside the king's carriage for part of the way, to continue the interview. At noon and at night Frederick preferably rested in villages and generally stopped at the houses of preachers, who always received a liberal present.

Reviews of large armies, such as Frederick William I had introduced on these occasions, were not held on this first trip of the new king. In the garrisons, however, which were in the line of travel, regiments were paraded separately. Thus there was at Landsberg-on-the-Warthe a review of Schulenburg's regiment of mounted grenadiers. Its chief or commanding officer was Frederick's old friend, with whom he had become very intimate ten years previously while located at Küstrin; now, on the 26th of June, he decorated Count Schulen-

burg with the Order of the Black Eagle and said in the most flattering way: "For faithful services which you rendered my House." On the parade grounds, however, the regiment made a poor showing, and while continuing his tour, the king wrote to his brother, Prince Wilhelm: "I saw Schulenburg's squadron, which was the picture of confusion, and I wrote him a very strong letter, about which he probably will not brag."

In another case the reprimand was not confined to words; in an old Prussian regiment of field infantry, the head of a company was dismissed, while the colonel commanding the regiment was transferred to a garrison troop of minor rank. But on the whole the new war lord was well satisfied with the result of his inspections. To his brother he complimented particularly the Pomeranian and some other regiments by saying: "Borcke, Lamotte, Platen and Buddenbrock, not to forget Schwerin, are really splendid"; while of the Prussian regiments he declared, "Most of them are in good condition."

Before entering Königsberg the king had taken the roundabout road through Lithuania in order to give Minister Podewils time to confer with the counselors called to pay homage, on the subject of their complaints and demands. Eastern Prussia was old fighting territory; the country on which the sovereignty of the king's dignity was founded

demanded an exceptional position in the state system as a whole. More firmly rooted than anywhere else were the recollections here of the old freedom and self-government.

After the dissolution of the Polish connection the municipal privileges were solemnly recognized and recorded by the first sovereign duke, who in his political testament left to his successors the warning: "The oftener you convene congress the more authority will be taken from you." His grandson, King Frederick William, was in truth the absolute ruler in Prussia; he called a congress in 1714 for the purpose of paying him homage, but never did so after that, and was strongly opposed to the native nobility's desire of taking part in the government. His angry invectives against the "country squires' authority" were first of all intended for the stubborn old Prussians. Even now the local nobility and that of other provinces did not consider prevailing state conditions to be a final solution of the much agitated question of constitution. The noblemen took the position that they were as good as the knights in Hanover or Mecklenburg, who had not lost their state rights, and claimed that Sweden served as a new example to demonstrate that the strictest absolutism could be followed by a "period of liberty."

During the last few years of the old government a Prussian general, Kurt von Schwerin, expressed

the hope that the change in rulers would bring back the old state constitution.

The flexible Podewils displayed great ability in negotiating at Königsberg with the noble leaders of the country. The counselors promised to pay homage without receiving the desired consent to their request for being called in repeatedly and regularly. In 1740, there was no trace left of the defiance and personal hatred shown in olden times. The most prominent family in the country set an example of loyalty to other noblemen. The members of the House of Dohna, as a tribute to the king, and in order to spare the feelings of other noblemen, renounced their privilege of giving written instead of verbal homage. The whole ceremony was finally reduced to a few delicate phrases pronounced by Director von der Gröben in his address of homage. He claimed that he believed the king had the praiseworthy intention of investigating thoroughly, through a reconvened congress, the needs of the Prussian kingdom, weakened by many misfortunes, and he blamed that statesmanship which saw in a congress an increase of unlimited power and too much authority.

The king did not reply to these words, but in his opinion the fact could not be denied that his country, as he had just emphatically declared at Königsberg to Podewils, was a monarchy and a despotic state. Like his father before him he did not consider the

coronation necessary. He referred to "the holy battle of ointment" and other ceremonies as useless and empty inventions of superstition.

These days of homage at Königsberg proceeded in noisy festivities and came to a conclusion without any further discord. On the 17th of July, the king wrote: "The city is full of people." He was particularly impressed by the number of ships crowded together in the harbor and counted more than 180.

After the homage he had a repast served to the counselors at twelve tables in the Muscovite hall of the castle, and in the evening the students were treated to "large quantities" of wine after their torchlight parade. A great change in conditions was indicated by the fact that in this province, where at the beginning of the previous government the young noblemen had to be forced into the military academy, now the speaker of the student board, Junker von Egloffstein, charmed by the king's grace, decided offhand to apply for admission to the military service.

The return trip required four days, the king arriving in Berlin on the 25th of July. The 2nd of August was set for the hereditary homage by the counselors of the "Kurmark." The sovereign stood in front of his chair on the throne; behind him were his brothers and cousins, besides the generals and high officials of state. The minister of

state mounted a platform and first delivered an address to the knighthood, followed by one to the representatives of the cities. He solemnly assured the citizens that their king would without hesitancy "sleep quietly on the lap of any of his subjects," without first being reassured by an oath of loyalty. One of the noblemen replied with marked feeling, as did the mayor of Berlin. The words of homage were then read and all those present swore to be true to the king. Outside on the large square, toward the "Breitestrasse" and the cathedral, the people crowded together; the ruler and his suite appeared on the balcony and he was three times loudly acclaimed. Unexpectedly he remained almost half an hour, firmly and seriously inspecting the immense multitude at his feet; he seemed deeply lost in meditation.

On the same day, in the principal cities of the other provinces, homage was paid, the king's place being taken by people duly authorized as the local conditions demanded. At Cleves, in accordance with a very old custom, the rope of pardon was thrown out among the prisoners. At Magdeburg the merchants and shippers furnished dazzling fireworks; at Halle the oldest master of the salt workers mounted the black steed and rode around the four wells in the valley, while the king's representative wished the fraternity good success in producing the salt and disposing of it profitably. As

was done at the time of the first entrance of the archbishops, the black horse was presented to the salt workers for their customary due.

For his visit to the western provinces the king chose the circuitous route leading through the German upland, in order to see his sisters in Franconia, who were married to the margraves of the Brandenburg collateral line.

Before starting on this trip he expressed an inclination to extend his journey to France, for the purpose of becoming acquainted with Cardinal Fleury; it was not due to this, however, that he made an excursion from Frankfort to Strasburg, which was not originally intended. The trip to Strasburg was suddenly decided upon and carried out. An excursion of recreation had long been his secret desire. He felt an irresistible longing to be for once free from all constraints, to be unknown and if possible unobserved; to move about according to whim; to enjoy the strange charm of difficulties in traveling; the unreliable actions of drivers; the overcharge on the part of innkeepers; the boorishness of postmasters and customhouse officials; in short, to be treated exactly like an ordinary mortal. It may have been a caprice to see Strasburg, which he could not satisfy ten years before in spite of his ardent desire for liberty. Moreover, he wished to see Frenchmen at home, particularly French officers and troops. These and not any

secret political intentions, were the reasons for his adventurous journey of discovery, in regard to which Frederick said, years later: "Whenever one can create a pleasant moment without hurting anybody else, it should not be neglected; a certain trip to Strasburg was not a particularly wise act."

Apparently the decision to visit that city was reached on the 19th of August, the last day of the sojourn at Baireuth. Several members of the suite, including the hereditary prince of Anhalt-Dessau and Adjutant General Hacke, continued forward to Wesel, while Prince William, Count Wartensleben and Algarotti remained with the king. Frederick afterward said: "Our appearance must have been very strange, because at each place which we passed we were taken for something different."

Even passports had been forgotten; the oversight was discovered on the afternoon of the 23rd of August, in front of the border house at Kehl, where a bridge spans the Rhine. It looked rather suspicious when the want was supplied at the last moment by the aid of the Prussian escutcheon engraved in the king's signet ring. The passport was written hastily and not in proper form by Chamberlain Fredersdorf and signed by the king, in favor of Count Schaffgotsch (that name having been selected by Prince William is still preserved). Frederick issued a second pass for himself in the name of Count Dufour and suite. To divert the atten-

tion, Prince William and Algarotti remained at Kehl overnight; toward evening the king and Wartensleben stopped at the Hotel du Corbeau (Raven) and the ruler sent to a nearby café an invitation to a few officers to join them. Out of simple curiosity they accepted the curious courtesy.

Old Marshal Broglie was governor of the fortress. Extremely suspicious of the mysterious and peculiarly acting strangers, he examined the officers very rigidly the next morning, but received very politely the visit paid him by the stragglers who in the meantime arrived from Kehl and were accompanied by Wartensleben. He also permitted the travelers to visit the citadel, witness the changing of the guard, and climb the tower of Münster. On the third day Count Dufour sent word that he also desired to call, but in the meantime the secret had been discovered through a Prussian deserter, who previously had often seen the crown prince.

Count de Broglie did not show a great deal of tact when he found himself in doubt as to whether he should offer royal honors to his guest or respect the incognito. Frederick deemed it advisable to return without delay to Germany. Unfortunately from the start he regarded the old count as an amusing individual. The king recalled an episode of the Italian campaign of 1734, when Broglie as commanding general was surprised in his own quar-

ters and fled from his enemies as a "sansculotte," (without trousers). In his lively description of the voyage, half prosaic and half in rhyme, which Frederick promptly sent to Voltaire, the marshal was not handled with gloves, being referred to as a man who apparently was created for the purpose of being surprised.

Voltaire had been at Brussels for some time on business, and the king proposed that he meet him at Antwerp; but on the 2nd of September, upon arriving at Wesel, Frederick was obliged to write that he had contracted an intermittent fever, more stubborn than the followers of Jansen; at the same time he asked Voltaire to come to him and cure him by showing his face.

On the 11th of September, the two friends met for the first time face to face in the small castle of Mayland near Cleves; from that time on they were destined to attract each other again and again, and finally to drift apart. It would seem that both of them were not fully satisfied with the first impression, and after the many compliments previously exchanged, it could hardly have been otherwise. Frederick wrote that he could neither live nor die happily before having embraced the friend, and the "godly one" replied: "Simeon will see his salvation; all Frenchmen are Prussians; my heart tells me that the hour approaches when I shall hear from the lips of the crowned Apollo words which

would have been admired by the wise men of olden times."

Voltaire arrived at an unfavorable hour; Frederick had burning fever and afterward wrote: "With people of his kind one must not be sick; on the contrary, it is necessary to feel very well, if possible even more so than usual."

Neither did the guest have a very good day; he was surprised by the simplicity of the ambulant court quarters, of which he afterward wrote a coarse description; he was fatigued by his trip, nervous and excited rather than animated. Algarotti claimed that Voltaire, who in some of his last letters had taken the liberty of giving advice, quickly changed from the language of admiration to that of cordiality and assumed a somewhat disrespectful tone which did not please. Voltaire's countryman, Valory, knew him to be careless, and expressed from the start the opinion that his presence was likely to lower the preconceived high opinion of him.

In spite of all this, Voltaire the poet, by reading his Mahomet manuscript, enraptured the small, select company. After this first meeting Frederick spoke of the overwhelming charm of his guest's conversation, saying that from the happy ideas which he expressed, a man who did not think but simply had a good memory could compose a brilliant work.

Voltaire arrived at Mayland just in time to witness the first political and military appearance of his northern Solomon. On the day the poet was received by him, Frederick published his manifesto against the bishop of Liège, after having notified his ministers that on the occasion of his visit to the Rhine country he would have an accounting with the quarrelsome prince of the Church about the Herstal matter. It was his intention to hold the bishop directly responsible and not to deal with his refractory subjects of Herstal who, in their resistance to Prussian rule, counted largely on the protection of the court of Liège.

There was much confusion in the actual and legal conditions of this small country on both banks of the river Meuse, where about a thousand years before stood the cradle of Karl and his family. A bishop anxious to act, with a country militia ready to strike a blow, disputed Prussian rights of possession, assumed supremacy based on his claim to a part of the territory, and shielded the rebels of Herstal. There was also a duke of Brabant with rival claims, and a Roman emperor in the person of this duke of Brabant who, when appealed to for aid by the opponents, promised impartial justice but never did anything; furthermore there was a poor but sturdy populace of miners and bag carriers who could not be prevailed upon to pay homage or taxes and were determined not to suffer

in their country the judges appointed by the new king or the Prussian recruiting officers. They were ready to attack, and fight it out "on body and soul, property and blood."

The real man at the helm was a lawyer of Liège, who agitated and worked besides giving orders to the rebels. Prussia had taken possession eight years before, and the public nuisance had lasted ever since. King Frederick William was very angry about it, but he did not wish to send troops to Herstal or to use violence toward the bishop. He negotiated with Herstal, Liège, Vienna and Regensburg, and after offering the bishop an exchange, declared his willingness to sell his Herstal inheritance for a small amount of money. Colonel von Kreytzen, who held his power of attorney, had the experience at Liège, in the bishop's presence, of seeing his baggage legally attached by the mayor of Herstal.

What had not been accomplished within eight years the bishop was now asked to grant within two days, which was the time set by the king in a brief letter of the 4th of September. He demanded of the bishop within this time a truthful and categorical explanation as to whether he was determined to continue his alleged supremacy over Herstal, and intended to support the rebels in their mischief and disobedience. The bearer of the letter, special counselor Rambonnet, was dismissed without receiving the explanation and even without a written

reply. The bishop said to him in an arrogant tone: "That is not the proper way of writing to a prince of the empire."

Three battalions of grenadiers and one squadron of dragoons, with four pieces of artillery, were ready to start from Wesel. Major General von Borcke immediately received the order to invade with his troops the bishop's territory, the country of Hoorn, to demand money for support of the troops and a war tax, besides disseminating the manifesto written by the king with his own hand. This announced to the world that too much moderation would resemble weakness "and since there existed no other means of obtaining justice except through self-help, and the king, being a sufficiently great prince to procure this, would let the prince of Liège feel the whole wrong of having in so unworthy a manner abused the sovereign's moderation, nevertheless, and in spite of so many utterances of ill will on the part of this prince, the king would not be inexorable, feeling satisfied with showing his ability to punish him but being too magnanimous to crush him."

The effect of such an unexpected step in the invaded territory, on the bishop's powerful backers, the king of France and the emperor, could not be judged at once, nor did the king intend to wait on the spot for results. The sensation created by his act of self-help was remarkable. His minister,

Podewils, who remained in Berlin, did not conceal in his reports the unfavorable impression made on the surprised diplomatic corps by the sweeping manifesto which discarded all customary business forms. One of the diplomats told him: "That is pretty strong; it is the language of Louis XIV." Podewils saw consolation in the fact that Europe's general condition was too serious at that time for anybody to feel an inclination to seek a quarrel with Prussia in order to please the bishop of Liège.

The king was glad to see that his quick determination and action favorably compared with his predecessor's inexhaustible leniency, and that on this first occasion Europe, after having waited a long while, saw finally a Prussian deed. Conditions had wonderfully changed since 1738, when there was a diplomatic coalition of great powers against Prussia, who commanded a halt to prevent future complications and a disturbance of general peace through a quarrel between Prussia and the Palatinate over a succession. Now, owing to a difference with another neighbor, there came a defiant outbreak of this same Prussia which stepped unhesitatingly over the sanctified limits of the great powers and simply sent a challenge to this judiciary of European peace. The patient acceptance of humiliations inflicted on the Prussian crown not only by great but by small powers seemed to this heir of the crown the limit of self-degradation.

The difference between Prussia's old and new policy was now unmistakably indicated.

How much importance the young king's impatience ascribed to his first test of strength and determination was shown by the contentment with which he compared the small exploit of his three thousand men, the cavalcade of his dragoons, with the step of general political importance taken at about the same time by France. When notified in writing by the French ambassador that his country had sent armed fleets against England, Frederick forwarded to Cardinal Fleury a reply stating that France evidently desired to checkmate him in his own move on the river Meuse. With derision, involuntarily mingled with a feeling of uneasiness, Fleury soon afterward wrote to his intimate friend, Cardinal Tencin: "The king of Prussia is vain in the highest degree and considers himself at least the equal of the greatest rulers."

Nevertheless Fleury was convinced that France ought to show consideration for this exacting young power. At that time France's condition was indeed such that the bishop of Liège could not even expect a word in his favor.

Before leaving the Rhine Frederick received at Wesel a verbal report from Colonel von Camas, whom he had sent to Versailles. The supreme master of European diplomacy, the acme of diplomatic finesse and cunning which Cardinal Fleury

had the reputation of being, this "Machiavelli in a bishop's hat," could not have been opposed, in Frederick's opinion, by a more competent negotiator than his brave friend Camas, whom he esteemed with all his heart. He was a military hero, who during the Spanish war of succession had lost his left arm at the siege of Pizzeghetone, and was besides the experienced courtier of old Huguenot education, on whose tact and judgment the sovereign depended absolutely, and whose eloquence he had lauded on several occasions in playful rhymes.

Camas arrived in Paris on the 11th of July, and on the following day was received by the cardinal at Issy. French jealousy of England, upon which Frederick counted, quickly showed itself. The cardinal was uneasy over the fact that a messenger of higher birth than Camas had been sent to Hanover. His self-conceit, however, was flattered by the polite wording of the royal letter handed to him. In it Frederick declared that he wished to take lessons in politics from a statesman who, on more than one occasion, had given Europe proofs of his cleverness and wisdom, and that in his period of mourning it was a comfort to him to be the contemporary of the most able minister France ever had.

The man thus praised read the letter very carefully, weighing each word and repeating some passages in a low voice. The gray diplomat's reply was so fatherly that he appeared to take seriously

the announcement of apprenticeship. He wrote: "Your Majesty appears created for great things, and great can only be called those based on justice. Your Majesty is young and, without desiring to flatter you, the high judgment given you by God, which you supplemented by studies during your leisure hours and by serious reflection, all these happy conditions are preparing for you a glorious career and announce to the world in advance the prominent part you are going to play. But all these advantages, combined with a great power, would lose much of their merit if the kindness, straightforwardness and nobility of your heart were not present to guide and regulate all your actions."

Camas did not make any headway in his mission, either with this unctuous prelate or with the homely little Amelot de Chaillow, who was the minister of foreign affairs and entirely dependent on Fleury, or with the cunning undersecretary of state, Pecquet, who was hostile to Prussia. Instead of holding out hopes for concessions beyond the treaty of 1739 regarding the question of Berg, the Frenchmen demanded Prussia's close connection with their political system, then on the eve of a decisive war against England, which to them appeared unavoidable. They even complained of a lack of gratitude, claiming that France had agreed to the treaty of 1739 less for the father's than for the son's sake, and now the king appeared desirous of

destroying this treaty and inclined to regard it as a work of haste and fear on the part of his predecessor.

Simultaneously with Camas, there arrived at Wesel one of Podewils's reports from Berlin, inclosing a confidential communication from Marquis Valory. On the whole it agreed with what Camas brought from Versailles, but the conclusion of the Berlin communication was peculiar and worthy of attention. Valory warned against an alliance with the emperor and still more against England, claiming that France was the best and only advantageous alliance for Prussia, since in agreement with France the king, after the emperor's death, could arrange his business in more than one way.

The king saw in this a confirmation of the suspicion which he had communicated to Colonel Camas in June,—namely, the French policy was already arranged for the moment following the death of the emperor.

Podewils's report furthermore imparted the surprising news that a Bavarian ambassador, Count Törring, a son of the most influential among the elector's counselors, had arrived at Berlin. It was known that the Bavarian considered himself the only legal heir of the last man from the House of Hapsburg. Under the immediate influence of these two reports the king, from Wesel, ordered his ambassador at Dresden to find out if possible what

plan the Saxon court might have made for the demise of Charles VI. The future task which Frederick had set for himself, he communicated to his friend Camas in confidential conversations which were not reported any further.

His answer to the cardinal, dated the 9th of September, which Camas carried back with him, asserted in the usual flowery style a community of interests of the two states, with the plain remark: "A little more good will on the part of the king of France could fasten these ties forever." Referring to a momentous past, he added: "Formerly Gustavus Adolphus rendered services to France, but Sweden is not today what it used to be at that time and, what is worse, Sweden no longer has a Gustavus Adolphus."

Camas was instructed to obtain a written declaration of France's promise to induce the palsgrave of Sulzbach, at the time of the palatine elector's death, to make a compromise with Prussia. The king, however, did not consent to the formation of an alliance provided for in the treaty of 1739 and ardently desired by France. In a letter dated the 22nd of September he explained his position on the questions to Podewils as follows: "I shall wait quietly to see how the European crisis develops and what the crown of France may be pleased to offer for the purpose of confirming its preference for Prussia."

A few weeks previously he had confessed to Camas that he would prefer an understanding with France to one with England. Now an agreement with France seemed to have become uncertain, but matters were still far from showing that this turn of affairs would benefit the negotiations instituted at Hanover.

There, since the latter part of June, Count Truchsess von Waldenburg had received most gracious treatment at the court of George II. Although the count's first reports were full of details regarding the assurances of friendship given him, his king was not satisfied with the results. Frederick wrote: "So far you only skirmished." He used pointed language, mentioning that of necessity Prussia had joined France and now regarded that country as her ally, but if Prussia was to be drawn away from her, realities would be required and not lofty compliments. He concluded: "If they do not offer anything we certainly shall not close."

In all his communications the king mentioned the three principal objects as follows: Concessions in the question about Berg, in which two years before the king of England had made common cause with the other powers against Prussia; recognition of the Prussian claims to East Friesland (Ostfriesland), which Hanover had disputed since the province was legally awarded to Elector Frederick III; finally, an

understanding in regard to Mecklenburg, where the Prussian right to succession had been injured by pledging eight districts in 1719 to Hanover, as security for expenses in connection with public works, without consulting Prussia and Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, as associate directors of the Lower Saxon territory. King Frederick stated that the last named question was not urgent, but that the first two ought to suffer no delay.

The replies received by Truchsess were evasive. All the same, conversations continued at Hanover over the necessity of strengthening the ties of friendship, relationship and neighborliness. George II repeatedly suggested a personal meeting with his royal nephew; at the first hint Frederick sent an answer to the effect that among great men personal meetings almost invariably destroyed friendships. He wrote to Truchsess a little later, when ready to start for the Rhine by way of Baireuth, that he would have traveled by way of Hanover if positive replies had been sent him instead of evasions. He added that if King George still should decide to speak out, arrangements could perhaps be made to meet at Wesel on the occasion of his return trip to England. From Wesel he instructed his ambassador to come to Herford for a verbal report when the king should pass through that city; he said that on his return trip he would not go by way of Hanover, adding: "The reason why I cannot this time

have the pleasure of calling on the king of England is the fever which I contracted, the truest and most natural excuse in the world."

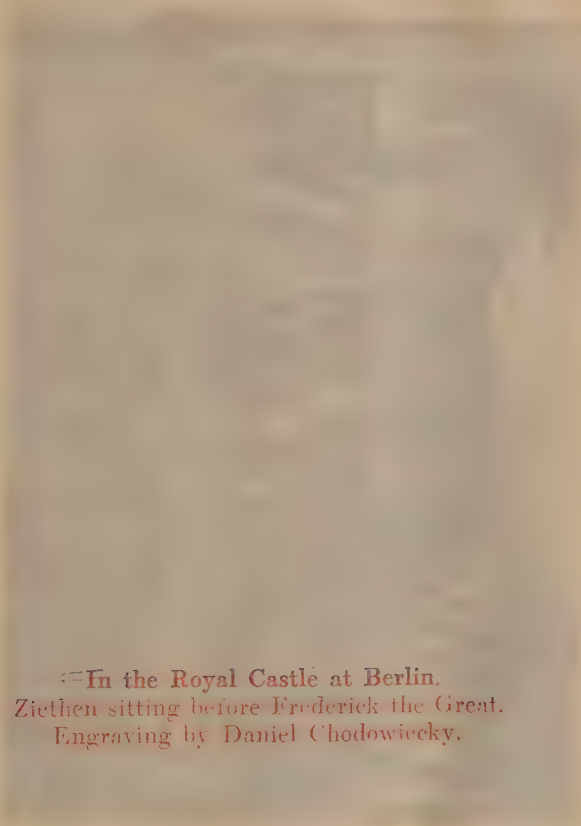
The uncle was to experience still another disappointment. The fever did not prevent the king of Prussia from stopping on the way back with relatives at Wolfenbüttel. On the 20th of September, at the castle of Salzdahlum, where seven years previously his wedding had taken place, he affianced his brother William to Princess Louise Amalie, his wife's sister.

A new family connection had been talked about in 1738, when the crown prince visited at the court of his brother-in-law, Duke Karl. Toward the end of 1739, King Frederick William I began to give the matter attention, while the young couple at Rheinsburg took a great deal of interest in the developments. Queen Sophie Dorothea, from her English-Hanoverian point of view, did not favor the plan at first, but finally consented. At the time Frederick William I died, a selection between the two available Brunswick princesses had not been made. During the first few weeks of the new government the unpleasant correspondence about troops to be furnished made the plan of marriage doubtful. The new queen, writing to her brother, said of her husband: "He sincerely desires the marriage, but not without the regiment of soldiers." She implored her relatives to do everything in their

power not to leave the field free to the hated Hanoverians. The encumbrance was then happily overcome and the queen-mother, with whom Queen Elizabeth had succeeded in establishing cordial relations, gave her unrestricted consent to her son's betrothal to Princess Louise Amalie. Near the end of July the Brunswick court paid a visit to the relatives in Berlin and it was then agreed that at the time of the return visit to be made by the king and the affianced prince the betrothal should be celebrated and publicly announced.

Up to that time the secret had been carefully guarded. The English court's surprise and displeasure seemed all the greater, the London press having announced that a daughter of King George had been chosen for Prince William. In his instructions for Münchhausen's mission to Berlin, King George actually considered the possibility that King Frederick might obtain a divorce from the queen. In that case, Münchhausen was "to do his very best to fulfill previous dispositions in regard to our daughter, Princess Amalie." The defeat suffered by the British marriage policy ten years before at Berlin was now repeated.

At home the reigning queen was "wild with joy" over the pleasant news from Salzdahlum, and the queen-mother was satisfied. Princess Ulrica promptly sent to her favorite brother, William, a letter of congratulation in which she said he need



In the Royal Castle at Berlin.
Ziethen sitting before Frederick the Great.
Engraving by Daniel Chodowiecky.

not fear a cool reception on the part of their mother, adding: "Her tender love for the king will never change." On the 23rd of September, the two princely brothers were back at Potsdam.

Since the middle of August an imperial general, Count Batthyanyi, waited in the capital for the king, in order to convey from Emperor Charles VI his congratulations on the occasion of succeeding to the throne. It was openly reported at Vienna that the choice of an ambassador of such birth and rank as this Hungarian magnate was due to consideration for the new queen, who, as a niece of Empress Elizabeth, was regarded as a member of the closest family circle. Outside of congratulations Batthyanyi brought nothing. Concerning Jülich and Berg, and what had occurred between the two courts during preceding years, he remained as silent as the ministers at Vienna were toward Colonel von Münchow. On the 20th of August, after Batthyanyi's arrival, Podewils wrote to the king: "It is a hobby of these people to imagine that everybody must seek them; in their present condition they ought to have gotten over such a notion."

The prominent dignitary did not set any real negotiations on foot, but this was done by a secret agent, an Israelite, who arrived a little later than the count and tried to obtain for the emperor an advance of a few millions from the Prussian state

treasury; as security he offered the temporary ownership of a strip on the Silesian boundary, but with the understanding that no Prussian garrisons were to be placed there. The king instructed Podewils to inform the financier that business could be done on the basis of an unconditional pledge of Silesian land. Then he gave Count Batthyanyi an audience, but granted him only such honors as had been extended to Colonel von Münchow at Vienna, not the solemn procession and grand reception which the emperor's representative desired. Podewils had to tell the ambassador that the emperor was only "primus inter pares" (the first among his peers), and that the king of Prussia considered himself fully his equal. Cool and composed like Podewils was the king afterward, when Batthyanyi faced him. At Vienna there was a feeling of surprise over the situation; an explanation was sought and it was presumed that possibly personal aversion toward Batthyanyi, from the date of the Rhenish campaign of 1734, might be the cause.

At the same time the opportunity was improved to make the king feel in an impressive and discourteous way the supremacy of the imperial majesty. The bishop of Liège, who appealed for help everywhere, complained first of all to the emperor and empire of Prussia's breach of the peace and violence. At first, the congress of Mainz refused to submit to the counselors the letter of com-

plaint, written in very emphatic terms, until the imperial principal commissary presented the matter. The commission decree was published at Regensburg on the 12th of October and stated: "It is not difficult to see that the king of Prussia is surrounded by hot-headed counselors who know nothing about the law of the empire and look after their own benefits rather than after their master's interests, and mislead him into arrangements such as were never before heard of in the empire." Attached to the letter of complaint was the emperor's sharp memorandum to the king of Prussia, ordering him in stern words to vacate at once the territory of Liège, and "to refund all that had been extorted."

This memorandum was never presented at Berlin and its contents became known there only through the publication printed at Regensburg. It caused all the more surprise because the imperial ministers at Vienna had calmly talked with the Russian ambassador about the occurrences on the river Meuse, and had assured him that all further steps in the matter would be preceded at all events by friendly representations through the imperial ambassador at Berlin. The remarkable change of mind, late as it came, was not well considered; the proper time was missed, for the bishop's first fighting wrath had largely spent itself. His fully authorized representatives followed the king on his journey and at

Berlin offered an amicable compromise, for they had become convinced that the sharp memorandum which the imperial resident representative Demeradt had shown them for their consolation, but which he did not dare to present to the king, was a very awkward weapon. The conditions previously rejected by the pugnacious bishop were now acceptable. For the payment of 200,000 thalers he acquired the ownership of the turbulent Herstal: his messengers were graciously admitted to a farewell audience at Rheinsberg, and started on their home journey after being honored with rich presents.

The treaty was signed on the 20th of October, and two days later news of what had occurred at Regensburg reached Berlin. Podewils, otherwise easily quieted, could not restrain the remark that this scarcely friendly step showed how Vienna felt toward Prussia, and what might be expected from the former's court in questions of great importance.

The angry king, replying from Rheinsberg, told him to give those Austrians a downright piece of his mind and added: "We must try to annoy them whenever and wherever we can; that neither helps nor hurts us."

When these words were written Emperor Charles VI was no longer among the living. The strong decree against the king of Prussia was his last im-

portant governmental action. On the 20th of October, the last heir of the House of Hapsburg died suddenly in his castle Favorita, near Vienna, at the age of fifty-five years.

Three years before, Frederick said: "If the emperor dies today or tomorrow, what changes there would be in the world!" On the 26th of October, when the death notice from Vienna reached him, he wrote: "This is the moment of a complete change in the old political system; the stone has loosened itself which Nebuchadnezzar saw rolling down upon the picture made of four different metals and destroying them all. I shall dismiss my fever because I need my machine."

On one occasion he wrote of how his heart beat when, as crown prince during the last Turkish war, he heard about battles and victory, like an actor who is waiting anxiously until his turn comes to play his part. His turn was at hand.

He could not foresee that the life of the last Hapsburg would be so brief. Prior to his demise he expected to hear the news of another death,—that of the elector of the Palatinate and proprietor of Jülich and Berg, who was seventy-two years old, and had frequently been reported to be dying: his passing away would have demanded a different decision. Nevertheless, he was not surprised at the emperor's sudden death. On the 28th of October he wrote: "I shall not go to Berlin; a little thing

like the death of the emperor does not require any great moves. Everything was foreseen and thought over in advance. Consequently it is only a matter of executing plans which I have turned over in my mind for a long time."

CHAPTER X

PREPARATION FOR THE MOVEMENT AGAINST SILESIA

BRANDENBURG patriots could not forget that there was in Silesia a lost territory which their ancestors had been unable to maintain against the House of Hapsburg. The old chancellor, von Ludewig, at Halle, had hardly received the news of the emperor's death when he notified his young king at Rheinsberg that for forty years he had been gathering the records of the Prussian claims to Silesia. He said he was induced to do so by the late minister von Ilgen, who was the counselor of three rulers and whom his grateful King Frederick William called an old, true Brandenburg father. Ludewig added that Ilgen expressed the opinion that these claims would be presented, sooner or later, when the male line of the Austrian House should become extinct.

On the same day, the first of November, when Ludewig thus wrote from Halle, von Rochow, president of the chamber at Cleves, called attention to an old plan conceived by the Great Elector to ac-

quire Silesia, the original of which had been found nine years before in an old forgotten desk in the fortifications of Ruhleben near Spandau. At that time Frederick William I declared that he valued the discovery at more than 100,000 ducats, and Rochow now considered it his duty to remind the successor of his father's words and the ancestor's plan. King Frederick replied with thanks that he knew the document; his father probably gave it to him, and if his intentions were considered long before, they were perhaps influenced by the recollections of the great-grandfather's scheme.

The reminders of the two true old gentlemen were consequently not required. Immediately on receipt of the first news the king ordered one of his ministers, Podewils, and one of his generals, Schwerin, to Rheinsberg for a state conference of the highest importance.

The brilliantly educated and polished Kurt Christoph von Schwerin, equally successful as a brave soldier and a clever diplomat, had for a long time been personally close to his master. Soon after the change of rulers he was promoted to the rank of a field marshal and made a count. The minister of the cabinet, von Podewils, who since Thulemeier's death was alone responsible for the management of the foreign department, had not until then held a confidential position.

While a man of ardent devotion to duty, an indefatigable worker, possessing clear judgment concerning people and conditions, with a thorough knowledge of diplomacy and an admirable finish in the art of negotiating, Heinrich von Podewils, at that time forty-five years old, had a dread of radical decisions and of entering into unknown fields. His present master was inclined to look upon this excessive caution as an hereditary fault of Prussian statesmen of the school of Ilgen. Several years prior to this time a social club was formed in the capital and, not without reason, Podewils was there nicknamed "the careful one"; representatives of foreign powers regarded him as a "natural trembler" and a man who would become frightened by simply hearing the word "war."

From the later period of Frederick William's reign comes a memorandum in Podewils's hand, in which he timidly peeps into the future which would compel the state to face two momentous tasks. In eastern Friesland as well as in Berg, Prussia would have to safeguard her hereditary rights in view of the fact that both reigning houses would probably soon be extinct; Podewils feared that the acquisition of two such important countries at the same time would increase the jealousy of neighbors and render more difficult, if not impossible, the carrying through of the claims. It was his greatest grief at this time that the new monarch would not

decide upon a strong alliance and a firm political system.

Shortly before the emperor's death the minister conversed one day with the Danish ambassador, General Praetorius; they talked over prospects of a general war, and Podewils remarked: "Fortunate are those who are well prepared." The Dane replied: "Fortunate are those who have good allies." Podewils assented: "You are right, but you know that my advice is not listened to." Since at this critical period the news from Vienna added to the European difficulties, the minister again wrote a memorandum proving from all angles the new condition of the world caused by the great event, and pointing out the advantages of that condition, as he saw them, for the success of Prussian politics.

He had hardly laid down his pen when the king summoned him to Rheinsberg. There he learned of an intention, for the sake of Silesia, to turn away from the inheritance claims of Berg, reserving them to be used only as compromise values. What the minister for years had looked upon as a great gain which would be hard to secure seemed now not worth a blow, despite the high aim which the king had set for himself.

The determination was unalterable; Podewils and Schwerin were only consulted as to ways and means of execution. They remained for three days at Rheinsberg. The negotiations were so lively that

the king, contrary to his custom, remained away at noon from the queen's dinner table. On the 29th of October, the second day of the conference, the two confidants summed up the import of the deliberations, so far as they related to the political question, in a memorandum, and Podewils, with more diplomatic finesse than protocol-like accuracy, gave it a form in which the king's real opinion evidently was not clearly defined.

The memorandum stated that there were two possibilities,—either the peaceable acquisition of Silesia through negotiations with the Vienna court and mediation of the sea powers, or forcible conquest by joining France and her friends.

The writers of the memorandum considered the first method the safest and subject to the least number of accidents. Perhaps the court of Vienna, in its trouble, might open negotiations or make offers; if, however, it should hesitate, Prussia could probably break the ice to gain time. The king might offer to defend Austria, promise the Brandenburg vote for the son-in-law of Charles VI, whose daughter was his heir, renounce the claims on Jülich and Berg, to which Austria heretofore was greatly opposed, and finally offer a few millions from the Prussian treasury. Should the negotiations at Vienna succeed, the Prussian-Austrian alliance could be supplemented by inviting the sea powers and Russia; should the negotiations meet with diffi-

culties, these powers could be requested to mediate, with the understanding that, as in the days of Louis XIV, the purpose would be to limit France's superior power.

After all efforts to gain the Vienna court's consent, either by direct negotiations or through foreign mediation, proved futile, the second method, the opposite course, would still be open. France could then be joined, a treaty of division could be made with the courts of Munich and Dresden, by recognizing their claims to the Austrian succession, and support could be given to the Bavarian elector's application for the emperor's crown. At the same time it would be necessary to be protected by alliances or diversions against a possible attack from Russia. Even in that case Jülich and Berg might be turned over to the allies in payment for assistance rendered in conquering Silesia.

The memorandum continued: "These are the only two plans about which Your Majesty honored us with a conversation, but we afterward spoke also about a third one."

Podewils and Schwerin expressed the opinion that if Saxony should make a move by the armed invasion of Bohemia or Silesia, the king of Prussia would be entitled to follow suit so far as Silesia was concerned, in order to save his kingdom from being entirely surrounded and to prevent the war from being waged on his boundaries. Thus he

would have the advantage of holding a valuable pledge in his hand while opening negotiations to secure Silesia.

While the memorandum did not mention the fact, the king evidently considered advisable under all circumstances that which, during the verbal deliberations, Podewils and Schwerin only suggested as suitable under certain conditions, which was to take possession prior to the negotiations, not after them. Only thus can be understood the reference at the conclusion of the memorandum to the third method,—the war of force. Neither of the two counselors, despite the wording used, had any idea of suggesting a previous occupancy, which from their scrupulous point of view would have been inadmissible; in fact they only tried to limit the plan of attack to a certain event by mentioning what would have to happen first.

This explanation makes clear the written exchange of reasons and counter reasons which took place after Podewils's return to Berlin between him and the king, and finally came to the point as to whether the sovereign would choose one of the three ways mentioned in the memorandum, or prefer his plan of proceeding in a straight line upon his own course.

On the first of November, Frederick wrote to the minister: "I shall give you a problem to solve; if a man has the advantage, shall he make use of it

for himself or not? I am ready with my troops and with everything else; if I do not benefit by it I am holding in my hand something valuable without appreciating its use; if I make use of it, people will say that I am smart enough to take advantage of the superiority which I have over my neighbors."

When Frederick wrote these words he seemed to know in what manner his father had been discussed at Vienna. On one occasion Count Sinzendorff, the court chancellor, when uneasy concerning Prussia, was told for his consolation: "The king of Prussia will give no order to march because he is a poltroon." The policy of the Vienna court toward Frederick William I was always based on this point of view.

On receipt of the king's letter Podewils wrote to Schwerin that it was growing hotter instead of cooler and, since their representations had no effect, there remained for both of them only the glory of obedience.

On the 3rd of November the minister made a last effort by writing to the king in answer to his letter about the "problem" that, according to what experience had taught, even in apparent cases of great disparity of strength, the fortunes of war could not be relied upon for any length of time. He remarked that frequently the back of a medal did not resemble its face. Furthermore, he referred to Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden who after conquer-

ing Poland lost it all, and to Louis XIV, who had the same experience after the quick conquest of Holland. He expressed the opinion that even the strongest power, before entering upon a war, as France did in 1733, would do well to secure the backing of an ally, and called attention to the fact that Prussia was not a rounded out and strictly united state like France, but the torn condition of the territory scattered the power of defense,—back, flanks and heart being exposed to attack from more than one point.

Frederick fully realized the responsibility of his determination. During those days he wrote very earnestly: "Since a week ago great events are following each other in quick succession and furnishing sufficient work in politics; things are commencing to take such a serious turn that more than ordinary cleverness is required to get through, and to hit the right thing it would be necessary to intrude upon the future and read in the book of destiny the conjunctures and combinations of times to come."

November 6 he sent to the minister a very detailed outline and explanation of his "ideas about the political plans to be made in view of the emperor's death," requesting Podewils to state his objections with complete liberty. He opposed the advice not to begin any war without having an ally by the thesis that her complete preparedness, without any doubt, was Prussia's main advantage and

her strength, giving her for the time being an immense superiority over all European powers. To wait until Saxony and Bavaria set the example by their attack would be against Prussia's interest, as it would mean the aggrandizement of the Saxon neighbor. The minister desired allies, and the king, in his clear, simple, original language in which he clothed all his political ideas, replied: "England and France are at odds; should France interfere in German affairs, England cannot permit it, and in this manner one of the two parties will always be ready to offer me a favorable alliance; if no agreement can be made with England and Holland, it surely can be done with France."

These two parties consequently offset each other, but a counter weight was still required against Russia. The king's "ideas" showed that he saw various means to be employed, if it came to the worst—a declaration of war by Sweden. Furthermore, Empress Anna was ill and should she die, Russia would be fully occupied with her own domestic affairs.

After presenting all his proofs the king concluded by saying: "Before winter sets in Silesia will have to be taken and during the winter we can negotiate. Afterward we can always form an alliance and, once in possession, we can negotiate successfully, while by proceeding differently we would neglect our advantage; through simple negotiations we shall never get the least thing, or per-

haps very onerous conditions would be imposed to grant us bagatelles."

Podewils received these "ideas" on the evening of the 6th of November, and spent the night in writing out the objections that the king demanded. At the same time news arrived to the effect that the elector of Bavaria had presented in Vienna his claim to the Austrian succession and, since the Saxon ambassador had previously informed Podewils that the king of Poland would feel compelled to follow Bavaria's example, the condition upon which Podewils and Schwerin at Rheinsberg tried to make Prussian aggression dependent was now to a certain extent at hand. Therefore, Podewils discontinued his fight.

Once more he gave warning not to sacrifice the duchy of Berg's certain acquisition to the uncertainty of acquiring Silesia; once more he exhausted all possibilities, stating that the court of Vienna might give up the lowlands and join France, or purchase the Bavarian elector's favor, or that Saxony and Hanover, as Prussia's jealous neighbors, might join Austria and obtain additional troops from other German states or Denmark; that Russia would furnish 30,000 men for the allied court of Vienna, and that Poland might invade the "Neumark." All these objections were previously considered insufficient because of the king's absolute confidence, and now he again replied to all of them that those at-

tacked by France would be backed by England and those attacked by England would always be aided by France.

Then came the news that the king of Sardinia had also become active and was preparing for war. On the 7th of November, in his reply to Podewils, the king closed the debate by stating that he had just signed the orders to mobilize the regiments. Two days later he received the long expected tidings that the empress of Russia, about a week after King Charles's death, had succumbed to her painful sufferings. That link in his political chain was forged, and he wrote to Podewils: "God favors us and Fate assists us."

The die was cast. A fixed aim had been set at the start and now the road was plain. Simultaneously with the diplomatic campaign the military one was to be started; preparations were being made for both. At the same time, Chancellor Ludewig was ordered to Berlin and intrusted with the presentation of the legal claims.

It must not be supposed that the king was fully informed concerning the details of the legal question. Years previous he had pointed out that the death of the last Hapsburg would bring about the catastrophe of Austrian power, and being well acquainted with the Great Elector's plan, which had been made for the present moment long before, he only knew that for years a considerable portion of

Silesia had been kept from his House by ruse and force.

The legal opinion, which the old professor of jurisprudence promptly submitted without being asked for it, was as positive and encouraging as possible. That even in this first stage of preparations the king gave attention to the legal side of the question was proved when, on the 6th of November, he asked Podewils by letter whether Silesia was a fief to the male or female line, and on the same day ordered Chancellor Ludewig to send a short but plain extract from his records for the king's personal information. Those "ideas" intended for Podewils, which formed the first memorandum about the Silesian affair from Frederick's pen, were based on the principle: "It is just to maintain one's rights and to use the opportunity of the emperor's death to take possession of such rights."

To this hypothesis Podewils made an objection which he had undoubtedly advanced at Rheinsberg: he claimed that these rights had existed, but were no longer in possession. His words were: "Well founded as were formerly the claims of the House of Brandenburg to the duchies of Liegnitz, Brieg, Wohlau, Ratibor and Oppeln, the principality of Jägerndorf and the district of Schwiebus in Silesia, there are solemn treaties to which Austria will refer and through which the House of Brandenburg, although by fraud, was led to renounce such impor-

tant claims against trifles. Means, however, will be found to reopen this case and revive these old privileges, complaining at the same time about this extraordinary way of taking advantage; claims for money can also be added, which Your Majesty has against the House of Austria and which amount to quite a considerable sum." The minister was thinking of an annual rental of 100,000 florins which, according to a treaty, Austria jointly with Holland had to pay to Prussia from the receipts of duties in the Meuse districts, and which had not been paid for the last ten years.

The king replied: "The legal question is for the ministers; it is your business and it is time to work on it secretly because the orders for mobilization of the troops have been given."

In spite of this brief and somewhat impatient disposition of the legal question Frederick afterward took occasion to write with his own hand a draft of his claims on Silesia, from which can be seen that he had obtained a clear view of the details connected with the great matter at issue; the Austrian point of view will be taken up later on.

His draft stated: The owners of Silesia recognized so fully the Prussian rights that they made a treaty with Elector Frederick William on the strength of which the elector was to receive the district of Schwiebus and, in compensation, renounce his rights to the other principalities and duchies of

Silesia; the renouncement would be valid if, through Emperor Leopold's blackest faithlessness, Frederick I had not been deprived of the district of Schwiebus. Since, therefore, the equivalent on which the renouncement was based had been given back their rights again became valid and the entire transaction with Elector Frederick William null and void.

Frederick went more into details regarding the connection between his Silesian claims and his undertaking the Pragmatic Sanction of Emperor Charles VI, which as the draft stated had no bearing on this matter, because nobody could inherit what did not belong to the one from whom it was to be inherited. Supposing, however, that the Pragmatic Sanction should be valid here, Prussia would not be obliged to recognize this mode of inheritance. The king of Prussia guaranteed to the emperor the Pragmatic Sanction on condition of obtaining the duchy of Berg; the emperor, however, violated his contract by afterward granting the temporary possession of Jülich and Berg to the House of Sulzbach.

The king added that the emperor promised Berg or an equivalent in imperial hereditary land to Prussia, and afterward Frederick declared that to him Silesia would now be such equivalent. These assertions, which did not literally come true, proved that Frederick was well informed regarding the history of the Berlin treaty of 1728.

During the preliminary negotiations the two rep-

resentatives, the imperial ambassador Count Seckendorf and the Prussian minister von Borcke, agreed on a secret article obligating the emperor, in case the imperial counselors should decide unfavorably concerning the Prussian hereditary claim to Berg, to give the king of Prussia an equivalent "ex propriis." Afterward, however, the cunning Seckendorf made his royal wellwisher believe that such article would not be required, because the case provided for could never be expected. He claimed that the emperor, in the clearest words of the treaty, was obliged to protect Prussia in the possession of Berg, that the lawsuit before the imperial counselors, which had rested for the last hundred years, would not be agitated again, but, even if it should be, Prussia's right was so clear that an unfavorable decision was not to be feared. Should there be an unfavorable judgment, nobody could execute it against the emperor and the king of Prussia.

As he had frequently done before, Frederick William I again permitted himself to be misled by smooth words. Borcke, his minister, did not share his assurance and for his future safety obtained a special discharge showing that the king personally empowered him to renounce the special mention of an equivalent from imperial hereditary land.

Afterward, in direct contradiction of his representative's declarations and the sense and spirit of the treaty, when a Prussian alliance was no

longer considered of value, Emperor Charles ordered the imperial counselors to resume the lawsuit concerning Jülich and Berg. It was this action on the ruler's part, contrary to the treaty about the Berg question, which in the course of time made Crown Prince Frederick a strong opponent of Austrian politics. He now placed the case prominently in the foreground when settling with the Vienna court. Many years afterward, while recalling his reminiscences, he wrote: "Above all, let us remember that Emperor Charles VI did not even respect the plain guaranty about the duchy of Berg; should we make sacrifices for the Vienna court's bad faith? Fortunately the emperor's breach of contract relieved me of the unfavorable guaranty for the Pragmatic Sanction."

The king rejected Podewils's idea of simple negotiations by saying: "We would make ourselves ridiculous by negotiating at Vienna." Now, after an armed negotiation had been decided upon, he did not expect success directly from the start. None the less, the attempt was to be made and Podewils received an order to prepare instructions on the basis of the diplomatic plan of operations agreed upon at Rheinsberg, which would enable the ambassador at Vienna to present to the husband of the young queen of Hungary the Prussian offers and demands at the time the troops invaded Silesia. The communications sent to London, to The Hague

and to St. Petersburg had to be very carefully worded because, during the Rheinsberg conference, much stress was laid on the attempt of gaining the sea powers and Russia for the support of the political programme to be presented at Vienna.

On the other hand, while furthering this plan the position toward France required very delicate treatment. Under their present conditions, Frederick could congratulate himself upon his steadfast refusal to listen to the allurements of a French alliance during the preceding summer. He said: "I am under no obligations to the cardinal and can do as I please." The negotiations with the opponents, however, might drag through months and it was necessary to keep the Frenchmen in good humor, so that their alliance might always be available in case of need; Frederick said: "We must show them the velvet paw."

Podewils was instructed to "keep his eyes and ears open," that he might learn everything secreted in the brains of the observing lynxes, the foreign diplomats at Berlin. One of these spies, perhaps the smartest of them all, Count Manteuffel from Saxony, once the philosophical tutor of Crown Prince Frederick and not accredited by his government for his work of spying, was politely requested by Podewils, in the king's name, to leave Berlin without delay. In order to mar his plans, the king sent the regiments selected to take the field on a march to-

ward Halberstadt, hoping that this would make the foreign ambassadors start their messengers on the road. Nevertheless, the rumors dispatched by the Austrian ambassador during the latter part of October to Vienna, regarding the secret intentions on a part of Silesia, stubbornly persisted; some of the diplomats expressed the opinion that the king desired to send troops in two directions at the same time,—to Silesia and to the Rhine.

Removed from the eyes of the Berlin "lynxes," the king, after having arranged the political details at Rheinsberg, devoted himself exclusively to the mobilization. Without any rest he worked untiringly with the secretaries of his cabinet and the adjutants, as well as with the assistants drawn from the general directorate. On the 15th of November he wrote. "We are working earnestly here and, if Heaven is not altogether against us, we shall have the finest chance in the world." He was impatient to see the end of the preparations,—the day when "the bomb would burst,"—and he added: "I expect to strike the first blow on the 8th of December to begin the boldest, most thorough and greatest enterprise ever undertaken by a prince of my House; my heart tells me of favorable prospects and my troops promise good success."

He considered it the most exquisite enjoyment in all the world to be on the eve of great events; he spoke of a crowd that would become confused and

could neither easily nor quickly be straightened out. Before his eyes was a reflection of the powerful picture of Rome's republican period. Such expressions were quickly disseminated, and enlightened diplomats like Guy Dickens, the Englishman, jumped at the conclusion that the reading of Rollins's old history had filled the king's mind with a desire to imitate Cyrus and Alexander.

In the midst of his labors, troubles, cares and hopes, the ruler found time to entertain guests at Rheinsberg. Once more and for the last time that town smiled in the brightness of the monarch's cheerfulness, wit, grace and youth. The first fête celebrated at Rheinsberg, as a king's castle, was the wedding of Major von Buddenbrock to the "youthful Iris," Elizabeth von Walmoden, which the king and queen gave to the adjutant and lady-in-waiting. All those who came from the court to Berlin were delighted by the cheerfulness and spirit with which the king, after a remarkably hard day's work, met his duties as host. His sister, Marchioness Wilhelmina, who during all these weeks was at Rheinsberg on her return visit and had her court dresses sent after her from Baireuth, was astounded to see him attend to his tremendous business in spite of an illness which confined him to his room. So far as she could see, nothing was done without first passing through his hands. She complained that personally she received too scant attention from her

brother, whose leisure was devoted to the general entertainment. During the evening, when he appeared with his flute in the concert hall, he was the most indefatigable among those who took part.

The late hours after the evening repast were devoted to scientific and æsthetic chats, or to dancing and the dramatic muse. As during the preceding winters rehearsals took place with the ladies of the queen's court. At the carnival in Berlin Cæsar's death, written by Voltaire, was to be presented, and also a comedy by Boissy. Until far into the night, sometimes after four o'clock, the animated circle remained together. While writing to Algarotti, who was obliged to remain in Berlin because of sickness, the king described his social activities as follows: "I dance, make verses and have no more fever."

The only quiet guest among all the cheerful and lively ones was the great Maupertuis, the new president of the academy. He had joined the king's suite during the autumn on the Rhine, but could not well become accustomed to the easy, intellectual life. Frederick, complaining about him, wrote: "He is so much in love with his figures and numbers that he prefers a-b-c to the entire company here; I do not know whether he is stuck on algebra or whether our company bores him."

Wholly different was Voltaire, when at the end

of the Rheinsberg sojourn he paid his promised visit to Mayland; this time he was in all his glory, in better physical health, in happier humor and "scattering sparks of beauty." Thus he was described by his delighted host, who added: "There is nothing more flimsy than our occupations. We put the quintessence into odes, we manipulate verses, we apply anatomy to thoughts and in spite of all we promptly practice the love of neighbors. What else are we doing? We dance until we are out of breath, we feast until we burst, we lose our money while playing, and we tickle our ears with soft, voluptuous harmonies. That is the way of the world and the way we live in the small hiding place on the Remus mountain."

The full impression made by Voltaire's visit, however, did not maintain the first hours of delight. Voltaire's enemies afterward claimed that he had been tactless enough to assail the memory of Frederick William I by his wit; at any rate Frederick warned his friend Jordan not to put much faith in the smooth words of a brilliant mind, and expressed the suspicion that the poet had gathered a fine collection of ridiculous things from all over Berlin in order to repeat them in due time and place. He also blamed the insatiable greed of this "in every respect extraordinary" man, who really formed a great contrast to the distinguished and unselfish but morose Maupertuis, and he expressed the sar-

castic opinion that spending more than 3,000 thalers for traveling expenses and incidentals meant paying too much for a fool. He added: "Never before did a great man's jester draw such wages."

Courteous letters were exchanged at parting. Voltaire praised the king for doing such pleasant things at the moment of preparing for great events; he lauded the illustrious and always busy hand which, in turn, held pen, lyre and sword; then Voltaire confessed that, lured by the stringed instrument, he now fled from the loud noise of the trumpet, and at the terrible sight of the open gates of the temple of Janus he saved himself in the quiet sanctuary of his "divine Emilie."

The man who with this elegiac complaint fled from the common reality, from the evil world of politics and rude power, had at the desire of Cardinal Fleury agreed to the very unphilosophical business of spying at Rheinsberg under the mask of a friend and a citizen of the world. The discomfort which Voltaire felt at parting was probably greatly increased by his disappointment at having been unsuccessful in learning his host's secret and thus earning his diplomatic spurs. Fleury's agent on the spot was not able to ascertain any more by spying than did France's official representatives, the regular ambassador and the messenger at Berlin, who presented the congratulations at the time Frederick ascended the throne. The three men held

many conferences to agree on an opinion concerning Frederick's plans to be sent to Versailles. Beauvau was inclined to believe that he was witnessing the first act of a war of coalition against France; Valory prophesied that the king of Prussia would join the power offering him the greatest advantage; and Voltaire the diplomat was satisfied with replying to Valory's belief in the epigrammatical sentence: "You are right; I do not know what adventure he will try, but if he come to grief he will again become a philosopher."

The hour approached when the problems would have to be solved,—the hour for action. During the last days of November the king wrote to Podewils: "My heart swells when I think of seeing you again; we shall have a talk for two hours and it will be my delight to tell you what plans I have made." On the afternoon of the 2nd of December, accompanied by Prince William, he returned to the capital. The newspaper reported: "The streets were so crowded with people that it seemed they never before had the good fortune of seeing Your Majesty." The two battalions of the Kleist regiment were drawn up in the park and the king reviewed them before entering the castle.

Berlin, as the king expressed it, resembled Mrs. Bellona in childbirth. Officially nothing had so far occurred regarding the reason of preparations for war. On the day following Frederick's arrival the

Journal de Berlin contained the following brief notice: "Various military movements and preparations are on foot in proportion to the part His Majesty naturally has to take in present conditions." On Sunday the 4th of December, at 8 o'clock in the morning, the king ordered the artillery stationed in the street called "Unter den Linden," and the squadron of the regiment of *gens d'armes* selected to serve as protection to march past. The parade lasted for an hour and a half and it is reported that the spectators forgot to go to church. On the 8th took place the departure of the hussars and the two Berlin infantry regiments, Kleist and Sydow. At the same time the Graevenitz musketeers left Magdeburg, and on the following day continued their march toward Frankfort.

Before following the troops into the field the king had to set the political machinery in motion. On the 4th of December he sent to the king of England a letter, the contents of which Podewils had carefully prepared some time before. It stated that he could not refrain from sending his troops into Silesia to prevent others from occupying a country to the greatest part of which his House had indisputable rights; that he was ready against the cession of Silesia, to espouse Austria's cause, and he requested the king of England to aid in the formation of a great alliance between Prussia and Austria, the sea powers and Russia, so that the old system

might be restored, the system of a European coalition against France.

At the same time Count Truchsess von Waldburg was sent to London as ambassador to carry on the negotiations and to represent his master permanently at the English court. King George was expected to see a particular proof of attention in the selection of the illustrious count for this post. In the meantime the previous ambassador, Captain Andrié, was instructed to take the preliminary steps; consequently he was made familiar with the political programme. The representative at The Hague was instructed to hold out verbal hopes, in accordance with the letter written to the English king, to the great pensioner of Holland and to the "Greffier" of the General States, the two leaders of the Dutch republic's foreign politics.

To support the ambassador at St. Petersburg, the king's friend, Major von Winterfeldt, hurried thither. He was a son-in-law of the Russian field marshal Münnich. Other ambassadors were sent to the courts, where a fight over the Austrian succession was expected,—Munich, Dresden and Turin, —where friend Algarotti might test his talents as a statesman. Still others proceeded to the smaller German courts, because it was now necessary for Prussian diplomacy to keep eyes and ears open everywhere until a decision had been reached for one plan or another. Political conditions were still

unsettled and this was the chief reason why Frederick, in his rigid realism, told Podewils in regard to his preparations of instructions for all these messengers: "At each court something different must be said."

On the 16th of December Frederick suddenly joined his troops upon the frontier for this, his first war. He wrote from Krossen to Podewils: "In two hours I shall cross the Rubicon." On the same evening he sent to his minister a second letter full of joy, as follows: "I crossed the Rubicon with flowing flags and martial music; my troops are full of good will, the officers filled with ambition and our generals anxious for glory; everything will turn out in accordance with our desire and I have reason to expect the best success from this enterprise. Either I will perish or I will gain honor from this undertaking."

The Prussian troops, as they marched, distributed the king's proclamation among the inhabitants of Silesia. In accordance with the plan agreed upon at Rheinsberg, this proclamation announced the occupation of the country as peaceable, since the king earnestly desired to maintain strict friendship with the House of Austria. The inhabitants were assured of royal protection, and particular recognition was given to the Catholic religion, with the promise that its property would not be touched. The supreme court of Silesia at once protested

against this announcement, requesting "immediate withdrawal of the warriors from foreign soil" and making a claim for damages. The king received the two bearers of the message in his dining room. When he found out that they were not ordinary officials but counselors he used the polite form of language in addressing them and invited them to take seats at his table. While reading the memorandum "his face did not express any indignation"; he handed the message to a page without saying a word, while a simple receipt was given to the two visitors.

Two days later, at his headquarters in Herrendorf, where covers were laid for ninety-five people, the king was host to the invited knighthood representatives of the principalities of Glogau, Sagan, Liegnitz, Wohlau and Jauer, for the purpose of discussing the provisioning of troops. Several of the guests, before taking charge of their properties, had served in the Prussian army, its corps of officers having for a long time been a point of attraction for evangelical Silesians of the nobility; among the officers of the regiments formed during the preceding autumn were many from Silesia.

The warm reception of the Prussians by Silesian Protestants of all classes facilitated more than anything else the taking of possession. Afterward the Austrian minister, Bartenstein, confessed: "Through an exaggerated religious zeal the num-

ber of dissatisfied people in Silesia was very great." The details mentioned in the Treaty of Altranstädt, through which Charles XII, while standing as a victor in the very heart of Germany, a generation before, had striven to alleviate the unhappy lot of his Silesian coreligionists, were disregarded, misconstrued and, in many cases, deliberately set aside. Nobody could force the imperial government to respect that treaty.

When the Prussians arrived, prisons were still overflowing with Protestants, whose refusal to renounce their religion was considered to be the crime of apostasy. Extending this view arbitrarily to close and distant relatives, the Roman Church also called apostates those evangelical people whose parents, grandparents or great-grandparents had been Catholics. There was one case in which the edict of apostasy was enforced against a Protestant whose mother-in-law had joined the prevailing faith. In Upper Silesia the inhabitants were mostly of Slavonian origin, and there Protestantism had been almost extinguished since the days of Lichtenstein's dragoons, who became known in 1629 as the "Saviors." Middle and Lower Silesia, however, had a Germanic population, and the faith of the fathers was faithfully preserved in spite of all persecution. Thus this entire territory went over unanimously to the king of Prussia, who was regarded as the liberator from the pangs of con-

science. At Haynau it was rumored that God had awakened the king through a dream, in which Silesia appeared three times in a consuming conflagration.

With astonishment Frederick noticed the power which religion exercised over the minds of the people. On the 27th of December he wrote: "Religion and our brave soldiers will do the rest." He immediately sent some Protestant preachers from home and assigned twelve candidates in theology—who became popularly known as the "twelve apostles"—to the local congregations, which until then had no preachers. In their first alarm the Catholic priests believed that they would have to flee; they moved from the right bank of the river Oder in large numbers to Poland. To allay their fears it was deemed advisable to issue another public declaration that the war had nothing to do with religion.

The first fortified place to which the Prussians came on their march was Glogau. On the 18th of December the king wrote: "They have old powder there that has been in the place for fifty years; they cannot hold out more than a week." Count Wallis, the commander, however, burned the suburbs and prepared his defense as best he could; he had received orders not to begin the hostilities. When Wallis complained that one of his men had been taken by Prussian hussars, the king sent this first

prisoner of war back to him. On the 28th of December, while reconnoitering, he found the fortifications stronger than he had first supposed them to be. Eight thousand men had joined him since he invaded Silesia; he left these troops to surround Glogau, and during the last days of the old year, in three forced marches he approached Breslau, the Silesian capital.

The suburbs were quickly occupied; Cathedral Island, in front of the sand gate ("Sandthor"), which commanded the city, was taken by surprise; no defenders were seen on the walls, but only curious crowds gazing with astonishment at the strange army.

In accordance with an old privilege the city harbored no Austrian troops; the "sworn city garrison" and the citizen captains were very peaceable; the counselors of the city, for greater safety, had sent the stock of powder up stream to Brieg; a great many of the evangelical citizens, led by Doeblin, a shoemaker, and other popular speakers, did not hide their aversion to the Austrian government. When two Prussian staff officers, Colonel von Borcke and Count Posadowski, appeared in the city to negotiate, on the 3rd of January, they arranged without trouble a compromise with Gutzman, the syndic. It was a treaty of neutrality, such as the city had concluded with Sweden and Saxony during the Thirty Years' War. The syndic, whom his fellow

citizens looked upon as a great statesman, believed that his native place was near becoming a free city of the empire, although the treaty was based on the flexible clause, "under present conjunctures and as long as they will last."

The understanding was that the city would not be occupied by Prussian soldiers, but that a magazine should be established in one of the suburbs, where one battalion would remain for protection.

In the streets and in the Schweidnitz cellar many Prussian soldiers were seen without arms, which was in accordance with the terms of the treaty; they were simply peaceable visitors, and a prominent Breslau merchant wrote about them in his diary: "All handsome, well-qualified and well-behaved men, who were admired by everybody and particularly by our Silesian women."

On the last evening of his first sojourn at Breslau the king gave a ball in honor of the authorities, heads of city departments and merchants. Historians recorded the names of the belles honored by the king with a dance. Gracious everywhere, toward small and great, Protestants and Catholics, Frederick was harsh only toward the members of the supreme court; he compelled all of them, headed by old Count Schaffgotsch, to leave the city; the leading merchants pleaded for them, but only one day's delay was granted.

On the 7th of January, when continuing the

march beyond Breslau, the king wrote to Podewils: "I am hurrying to complete the work which I commenced and to show other courts that our plans, far from being chimerical, will be executed in the most glorious manner."

During those days Marquis Beauvau, referring to the self-confidence and fixed belief in victory exhibited by the young king, wrote his new impression concerning Frederick's personality as follows: "Fully convinced of his superiority in every endeavor, he considers himself even now a clever statesman and a great general. Lively and despotic, he will always decide on the spot and according to his own mind. His generals will never be more than adjutants, his counselors of state nothing but secretaries, his ministers of finance nothing but receivers of taxes, and the German princes allied with him will only be his slaves." The Frenchman, however, was sufficiently unprejudiced to add: "If he does not yet possess all the knowledge which he considers his own, one must agree that he has all the qualifications to acquire it; yes, he is already what others get to be in time and through great efforts. He has great points of view and also gives close attention to small matters,—to the administration, negotiations, the war, exterior and interior measures, recruiting of troops, discipline, drills, provisioning; in one word, he makes the plans and executes them." Beauvau declared

that in his case faults and shortcomings were connected with talents of the highest order.

Frederick's joy and pride over the first quick progress of his enterprise were hardly in proportion to the slight difficulties encountered at the beginning of the Silesian campaign. According to the war traditions of those days it was in itself a great achievement, which few powers could have accomplished (Marquis Beauvau, after returning from Berlin, expressed this opinion), "to advance an army of 30,000 men in the midst of winter, and in less than two months, more than eighty miles beyond their own boundary, and to provision them at that distance." All the same, until an Austrian army appeared, this movement was hardly more than a military promenade, and even by attacking the decayed fortresses no laurels could be gained unless, as Frederick sarcastically declared, one was himself a mortar.

Easily carried away by this good fortune and filled with buoyant confidence, guided by that instinct to which he referred, he started out at the age of twenty-eight years upon a road the end of which was hidden from him. He did not even know how much of the country, on the wintry soil over which he rode, he should demand, or how much of it he might be able to hold; neither did he know the allies with whom he would fight side by side, nor did he really understand his opponent.

Whenever he thought of him he either spoke of the Vienna court, without naming any person, or he referred to "the man from Lorraine," since in his opinion the Lorraine prince, as the dead emperor's son-in-law, was the representative of the Austrian power; he therefore only counted and negotiated with the man from Lorraine. Rarely in those days did he give a thought to the great woman, now challenged by him, who with her intense hatred was to help make his life stormy.

On the day that King Frederick gave his entrance fête to the inhabitants of the Silesian capital, the young queen of Hungary and Bohemia, at Vienna, sent her final reply to the Prussian ambassadors and dismissed them from her court. The great war then really began.